COPY

RELEASE

Amsterdam News September 26, 1942

DIXIE COPS ROB, BEAT WAR NURSE

Outrage Occurs Under Dixon, Kin of Ku Klux Author

MONTGOMERY, ALA.---Here in the capital of Alabama under the shadow of the building which now houses the State government but which in Civil War days sheltered Jefferson Davis and the Rebel Confedracy, one of the foulest deeds of this war time period occuerd last Thursday.

A Negro woman who holds the rank of an officer in the U.S. Army was assaulted, brutally beaten and robbed by white policemen after an altercation with a bus driver who was driving a public conveyance.

Lieutenant Green, a colored nurse from the hospital attached to the 99th Pursuit Squadron, the Aviation Squadron from Tuskegee, which shortly is expected to be transferred to active duty abroad, had volunteered for Foreign Service with the Unit. Thursday, she came to Montgomery to purchase clothing and acessories which she felt were necessary for the trip, notice of which might come at any time.

When she boarded the bus in Montgomery, whites already occupied seats. The driver asked her to get off. She asked to be permitted to remain because she feared being late to work. This was denied and apparently she refused to get off. A policeman was called. She was roughly taken off the bus, thrown into a police patrol car with four officers present and throughly beaten.

PRESS RELEASE

MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York, N. Y.

FEPC SHOULD HAVE THE RIGHT TO INVESTIGATE DISCRIMINATION IN WAR MANPOWER COMMISSION UNDER MCNUTT STATES RANDOLPH

New York City, November 25, 1942

Continuing the fight for the restoration of the President's Committee On Fair Employment Practice to its former status of independence and responsibility to President Roosevelt, A. Philip Randolph, national director of the March On Washington Movement states that there can be no compromise on the question of FEPC having the status of independence and responsibility to the President alone. Since so long as FEPC is under the wing of Paul V. McNutt, chairman of the War Manpower Commission it cannot effectively and honestly police Executive Order #8802 because its power and right to investigate discriminations in the departments of the government are limited. It is limited so long as it is subject to one department of the government such as the War Manpower Commission, and supervised by one of the heads of a government departments such as obtains at the present time while the committee is under the control of Mr. McNutt, observed Mr. Randolph. What would happen if FEPC were to call on Chairman McNutt concerning discriminations on account of race, color, religion, or national origin in the War Manpower Commission itself? Anyone can guess the answer.

It is reasonable to assume that the War Manpower Commission and Mr. McNutt would not permit FEPC which is under its supervision to investigate him. It is a matter of common knowledge that the United States Employment Service and the Department of Education that are under Mr. McNutt are reeking with racial discriminations. Therefore FEPC needs to investigate the War Manpower Commission. Moreover, the War Manpower Commission may be changed, or abolished at any time just as the Office of Production Management was abolished. When this is done, it is certain to up-set and confuse FEPC again. These are the reasons why FEPC should be free, concluded Mr. Randolph.

PRESS RELEASE

MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York, N.Y.

RANDOLPH CALLS FOR UNITY OF NEGRO HIGH COMMAND

Chicago, Illinois, December 3, 1942

Speaking at the Woodlawn A.M.E. Church in Chicago at a mass meeting under the auspices of the March On Washington Movement, to secure jobs for Negroes in the public utilities including the surface street cars, elevated trains, subways, busses, telephone, electric and gas, A. Philip Randolph, National Director of the March On Washington Movement, stated that our experience in the War Emergency proves the necessity of unity of Negro High Command--our leadership.

Although the magnitude, gravity and complexity of the problems that confront the Negro people today are tremendous, there is no unified or well-defined policy or strategy among the Negro leaders with which to grapple with these problems. In the main the Negro High Command is working in tight organisational compartments, and very often at cross purposes with practically little or no coordination, Mr. Randolph continued.

While Negro organizations may and should retain their organizational entity and major policies, there should be some periodic meeting of the top leaders for an objective and realistic discussion of policy and strategy in relation to broad national issues.

When the national defense program was projected, Negro leadership was at sea. During the Poll Tax fight, it was distressingly unwitting of its way, said Randolph.

If Negroes expect to get any where during the war and post-war emergency, Negro leaders of the church, labor, civic, fraternal, business, law, medicine, education, women and youth must come closer together, he concluded.

PRESS RELEASE

MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York, N.Y.

MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT TO PUSH POLL TAX FIGHT

IN NEXT CONGRESS

Chicago, Illinois, December 3, 1942

Having been told by some of the leading liberal and progressive senators that the campaign to pass the Pepper Anti-Poll Tax Bill was weak and unconvincing, the March On Washington Movement proposes to initiate a vigorous fight to help push the Bill through the forthcoming Congress.

One outstanding progressive leader of the Senate stated to a committee of the March On Washington Movement in Washington, D.C., that the Anti-Poll Tax measure failed to pass because a quorum could not be maintained against the filibuster and a quorum could not be maintained because the senators were not convinced that public opinion demanded the Bill. Only the pressure of the masses can make the senators understand the will of the people on this matter.

PRESS RELEASE

MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York, N. Y.

RANDOLPH TELLS UNITED CHRISTIAN CONFERENCE NEGROES

MAY MARCH TO SAVE AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

Cleveland, Ohio, December 9, 1942

In the Grand Ball Room of the Hotel Statler, Cleveland, Ohio, December 8, 1942, A. Philip Randolph, sharing the program with Liu Liang-Mo of China and Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver of Cleveland, told American Co-operative Christianity in united counsel that Negroes wanted and would fight for full and complete first class constitutional citizenship in America with no reservations.

He continued that in order to achieve this objective, Negroes may be compelled to march on Washington, but not only to stop the poignant insults to their souls, but also to save the soul of America and make it truly worthy of the moral and spiritual leadership of the democratic forces of the world.

At the Interracial Dinner that same evening at the Allerton Hotel in Cleveland, Mr. Randolph pointed out that the darker races, including the Chinese, Indians in India, Africans and the Negroes in the West Indies and America had contributed to their subjugation, oppression and exploitation by their docility, submission and acquiescence in the ideology of racism, but that that era had passed with the coming of this global war. Today the darker races including the American Negro looked with contempt upon the pernicious theory of race superiority, and were ready and determined to put everything they have got into the fight for racial equality, concluded Mr. Randolph.

PRESS RELEASE

MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York, N. Y.

MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT STARTS CAMPAIGN
TO GET NEGROES IN PUBLIC UTILITIES

Chicago, Illinois, December 10, 1942

Because of the demands of the War, men are being taken out of the public utilities. It is reported that white women are making applications to work as motorwomen and conductors on the surface cars, elevated, subway, buses, as well as for places now occupied by men in the electric, gas and telephone companies.

On account of this scarcity of man-power in certain age groups, the March On Washington Movement starts a campaign to get Negro men and women into the public utilities from which they have been barred in the past. Probably only in Detroit and New York City, public utilities have been and still are an industry of white workers only.

As a result of a recent opinion of legal counsel, the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice has been given jurisdiction over public utilities, the first hearings on charges of discriminations having been held with the Capitol Transit Company in Washington, D. C.

The March On Washington Movement urges Negroes in all of the cities in the country to make application for jobs in all of the public utilities and take committees to wait on the Utilities Management for these jobs and raise cases of discrimination to the Fair Employment Practice Committee.

MOWM

PRESS RELEASE

MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue,
New York, N. Y.

MARCH MOVEMENT TO GET NEW EXECUTIVE

New York City, December 14, 1942

Planning to mobilize five million Negroes into one great mass of pressure for freedom and democracy in America by May, 1943, the March On Washington Movement realizes the need to place at the helm of the organization an administrative officer with foresight, understanding, forceful personality and organizational ability to coordinate its program nationally and inter-nationally, and cement the bonds of workers, intellectuals, and youth forces -- into one militant force for social action. The National Committee of which A. Philip Randolph is Director announces the appointment of the courageous, efficient, and dynamic E. Pauline Myers of Richmond, Virginia to the position of Executive Secretary.

Miss Myers comes to this position from a colorful career as leader of social thinking in Washington, D. C., Philadelphia, Virginia, and Chicago.

She was identified with those post war movements of student youth to bring about a permanent organization for world peace and to work for economic democracy. She was a member of the U. S. section of the Planning Committee that called the First World Youth Peace Conference at Eerd Holland, 1928. She was on the Committee that formed the Inter-National Student Friendship Club in Washington, D. C., and because of her activities in behalf of inter-racial and inter-national peace was elected to a fellowship to study at the Institute of Inter-National Relations at Haverford College, 1930. Later in the summer of 1930 Miss Myers was chosen to inaugurate a recreational and social program in the slums and congested areas of Philadelphia where children affectionately called her the Costumed Story-Teller. From 1927 to 1931, Miss Myers was the recognized Student Leader at Howard University and won the respect of faculty, administrators, and trustees for innate ability to organize mass student action and cement bonds of friendship and appreciation between these forces.

Miss Myers has served on both jury and grand jury in Chicago and understands the problems of justice. She has identified herself with farm youth in Virginia and understands the plight of the rural youth.

She was president of the first Howard University Liberal Club under the League for Industrial Democracy and was for two years Chairman of the Howard University Forum.

She lobbied in Congress in behalf of Unemployment Insurance and a Program of Public Works and initiated and organized many conferences and institutes in the Washington Community, while serving often as an emissary of goodwill to many white student groups in the eastern area. She also lobbied in behalf of the Anti-Lynch Bill for the NAACP.

Writing on her work in Chicago, Mr. John J. McKinley, former Area Superintendent, Chicago Adult Education Program, has this to say:

"For two and one-half years Miss Myers served in my district as a teacher of Public Affairs and Workers Education, and did outstanding work in that capacity. Two of her most successful achievements were

her work in the South Parkway Convalescent Home for Men, and her work with labor groups, both organized and unorganized. At the Convalescent Home Miss Myers organized and directed a well rounded program of forums, lectures, discussion groups, educational moving pictures and musicals, which were received enthusiastically by the institution. In addition to group activities, Miss Myers gave personal service to bed patients in the form of book selection, theraputic handiwork, consel on personal problems, wrote letters, etc.

As a teacher of Workers Education, Miss Myers conducted classes in public speaking, labor law, parliamentary procedure and current events for groups of working men. This work was outstanding because of the tact, initiative, intelligence and energy which she brought into play in her activities. The results were of great value to both the groups directly benefited and to the community as a whole.

From the point of view of her supervisor, I found Miss Myers congenial, cooperative, energetic and willing to accept responsibility. She has a pleasing personality and a knack for dealing with the public."

Miss Myers was also one of the First Negroes in America to assail Fascism as an impending threat to the people of America, from the public platform when she served as lecturer for the Good Neighbor Forum of Central Y.M.C.A. College, Chicago.

As one who understands the problems of her people and is willing and unselfishly devoted to winning their fight for freedom, we commend Miss E. Pauline Myers as a stalwart champion of democracy. Miss Myers is now Business, Industrial and Public Affairs Secretary at the Phyllis Wheatley Branch Y.W.C.A., Richmond, Virginia. She will have her executive office in the spacious March Headquarters, Hotel Theresa, New York City -- effective January 2, 1943.

PRESS RELEASE

March On Washington Movement
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York, N. Y.

MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT DEMANDS FIVE MILLIONS FOR FEPC

New York City, December 18, 1942

At the headquarters of the March On Washington Movement in the Theresa Hotel Building in New York City, A. Philip Randolph, national director stated that the March On Washington Movement was calling upon President Roosevelt for a budget of $5,000,000 for FEPC properly and effectively to police the Executive Order #8802 through an adequate staff of FEPC.

There is no more important government agency in the nation than FEPC and there is no more important job than the one it is doing, namely, fighting to break down barriers in defense industries and the government on account of race, color, creed or national origin, and it should not be handicapped for funds and personnel to accomplish it, commented Mr. Randolph.

PRESS RELEASE

MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Washington, D. C, December 19, 1942

The March On Washington Movement will hold a Monster Mass Meeting, Sunday, January 23, 1943, in the Vernon Avenue Baptist Church, at 3pm.

This meeting will culminate a membership drive for 25,000 members and arouse the general public to attend the hearings of the Fair Employment Practices Committee on the problem of discrimination affecting the Negro locomotive firemen.

Speaking on the occasion will be A. Philip Randolph, National Chairman of the Movement, Dr. Lawrence Ervin, Chairman of the New York Unit, Zettie Clay of Macon, Georgia, Negro Fireman, J. H. Daniels of Tampa, Florida, Fireman, Thurman Dodson, Chairman of the Washington Unit of the March On Washington, and B. F. McLaurin, National Secretary.

MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York, N. Y.

PRESS RELEASE

Randolph Suggests

I AM AN AMERICAN TOO, WEEK
DEFEAT HITLER, MUSSOLINI AND HIROHITO
BY ENFORCING THE CONSTITUTION AND ABOLISHING JIM-CROW

New York City, December 24, 1942

Because of the non-enforcement of the Bill of Rights and the several Civil rights amendments to the Constitution and the practice of Jim-crow upon American citizens on account of race, color, religion or national origin, makes for the nulification and destruction of our democratic institutions, ideals, faiths and values, and prepares the ground-work for a violent fascism, chauvanist racism, a devasting economic and political nationalism and intolerant religious dogmatism, I am suggesting a week to be set aside and known as I AM AN AMERICAN TOO--with the slogan: DEFEAT HITLER, MUSSOLINI AND HIROHITO BY ENFORCING THE C NSTITUTION AND ABOLISHING JIM-CROW.

The title itself will have an emotional appeal to certain basic traditions of the country.

The week shall be observed in May 1943, during the week of the March On Washington National Conference in Chicago. During this week, the following program and strategy shall be projected and executed:

1. Negroes and their white liberal friends shall wear paper caps or arm bands labelled: I AM AN AMERICAN TOO--DEFEAT HITLER, MUSSOLINI AND HIROHITO BY ENFORCING THE CONSTITUTION AND ABOLISHING JIM-CROW.

2. Stage I AM AN AMERICAN TOO marches on the City Halls memorializing ~~upon~~ the Mayors and City Councils in cities from coast to coast to memorialize the President and the Congress to enforce the Constitution and abolish Jim-crow.

3. Send letters, telegrams and make long distance telephone calls to the President, Secretary of War, Secretary of Navy, Secretary of Labor, Secretary of Agriculture, Secretary of Interior, Secretary of State, Secretary of Commerce, Chairman of the War Production Board, Chairman of the War Labor Board, Chairman of the War Man Power Commission, United States Attorney General, requesting these departments to enforce the Constitution and abolish Jim-crow.

4. Send telegrams, letters and make long distance telephone calls to the President and personnel managers of every Southeastern and Southwestern railroad and terminal company, to observe the Constitution and abolish Jim-Crow cars and terminal rooms marked "colored."

5. Every Negro and white preacher should be urged to preach a sermon the Sunday beginning the week of protest on I AM AN AMERICAN TOO--DEFEAT HITLER, MUSSOLINI AND HIROHITO BY OBSERVING AND ENFORCING THE CONSTITUTION AND ABOLISHING JIM-CROW.

6. Every Negro and white paper and magazine should be urged to write editorials on I AM AN AMERICAN TOO--DEFEAT HITLER, MUSSOLINI AND HIROHITO BY OBSERVING AND ENFORCING THE CONSTITUTION AND ABOLISH-

ING JIM-CROW.

7. Secure a nation-wide radio hook-up for brief statement to the nation on I AM AN AMERICAN TOO--DEFEAT HITLER, MUSSOLINI AND HIROHITO BY OBSERVING AND ENFORCING THE CONSTITUTION AND ABOLISHING JIM-CROW, ~~CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE AND NON-COOPERATION~~.
Civil Disobedience and Non-cooperation

8. Every Negro and liberal white friend, during the day of I AM AN AMERICAN TOO, marches, if not in the march, should stand for one minute, wherever he may be, except on defense job, or in combat action, in a silent prayer of protest against the non-enforcement of the Constitution and jim-crow.

9. Parents should refuse to permit their children to attend a jim-crow school on a day to be designated during the week, and the teachers, Negro and white, should not teach on that day.

10. Negro appointed office holders should refuse to report for work on a day of the week to be so designated in protest against the non-enforcement and non-observance of the Constitution and the practice of jim-crow and in re-affirmation of the central theme of the week I AM AN AMERICAN TOO.

11. Negroes and their white liberal friends should refuse to obey any law during this week which violates the fundamental, human and citizenship rights of the Negro people, such as riding in a jim-crow car, railroad or city surface car or bus. Throughout the South, Negroes who are traveling should not carry any lunches but should go into the dining car to have their meals.

In Washington, a samall group of Negroes should have meals in the Congressional restaurant each day of the week.

12. During this week, Negroes should make it a point to eat in places downtown where they have not been accustomed to eating.

The March On Washington together with other Negro and white liberal organizations will plan the I AM AN AMERICAN TOO WEEK, states A. Philip Randolph, National Director of the March On Washington Movement.

PRESS RELEASE

MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York, N. Y.

MARCH ON WASHINGTON MAY CONFERENCE WILL PONDER

PROGRAM OF CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE AND NON-COOPERATION

New York City, December 30, 1942

At the national headquarters in the Theresa Building in New York City, A. Philip Randolph, national director of the March On Washington Movement stated that at the May Conference of the March On Washington Movement which is to be know as the "I AM AN AMERICAN, TOO" Conference, a broad national program on non-violent civil disobedience and non-cooperation will be discussed with a view to its adoption in the interest of abolishing jim-crowism in America. Randolph stated that the program of non-violent civil disobedience and non-cooperation should include refusal of Negroes to obey any law which violates their basic human, moral and citizenship rights such as the jim-crow cars and all forms of discrimination. When, as and if the program of civil disobedience and non-cooperation is initiated by the March On Washington Movement, it will call upon Negroes to boycott the jim-crow cars in the South and ride in the cars provided for citizens generally, and refuse to go into jim-crow waiting rooms, but to enter the normal waiting rooms provided for everybody. If they are ejected and put out, Randolph advised that they should not fight back, but that during that week Negroes should constantly keep up their program of refusing to enter jim-crow cars and waiting rooms, in an orderly, peaceful and quiet manner.

As a part of the program of civil disobedience and non-cooperation, Mr. Randolph states that the March On Washington Movement will call on Negroes to exercise their civil rights and eat in all places in every city where citizens normally eat and that in Washington, D. C. Negroes go daily to the Congressional restaurants which bars Negroes and enter and request service each and every day of the week devoted to non-violent civil disobedience and non-cooperation.

The grounds upon which this program will be based is that a citizen is morally obligated to disobey an unjust law. All Negroes will be called upon to join this movement of non-violent civil disobedience and non-cooperation except those who are on duty in the armed forces and at work, concluded Mr. Randolph.

PRESS RELEASE

MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York, N. Y.

RANDOLPH SUGGESTS "I AM AN AMERICAN, TOO" WEEK

WITH SLOGAN "DEFEAT HITLER, MUSSOLINI AND HIROHITO BY ENFORCING

THE CONSTITUTION AND ABOLISHING JIM CROW

New York City, December 30, 1942

Because of the non-enforcement of the Bill of Rights and the several Civil Rights amendments to the Constitution including the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments and the practice of jim-crowism upon American citizens on account of race and color, makes for the nullification and destruction of our American democratic institutions, ideals, faiths and values and prepares the groundwork for the growth of a violent Fascism, chauvinist racism and a devastating political and economic nationalism, and intolerant religious dogmatism, I am suggesting a week to be set aside and know as "I AM AN AMERICAN, TOO" WEEK, with the slogan "Defeat Hitler, Mussolini and Hirohito by enforcing the Constitution and abolishing jim-crow.

According to Mr Randolph, the week shall be observed the last week in May, 1943, during the time of the March On Washington Movement's National Conference in Chicago which shall be known as I AM AN AMERICAN, TOO Conference.

The purpose of this "I AM AN AMERICAN,TOO" WEEK is to focus national and world opinion upon the struggles of the American Negroes for their democratic and civil rights and mobilize and enlist the sympathy and cooperative public sentiment of the American people and the liberal minded people of the world, states Randolph.

As a part of the program of this week, there will be: (1) "I AM AN AMERICAN, TOO" Marches on the city halls memorializing the mayors and city councils from coast to coast to memorialize the President and Congress to enforce the Constitution and abolish jim-crow in the interest of achieving total

democracy over the forces of Fascism at home and abroad. (2) Sending of letters and telegrams and the making of long distance telephone calls to the President, Secretaries of War, Navy, Labor, Agriculture, Interior, State, Commerce and Chairmen of the War Production Board, War Labor Board, War Manpower Commission, Office of Civilian Defense, Office of Price Administration, and the United States Attorney General, requesting and urging these government agencies to enforce the Constitution and abolish discrimination and segregation in the armed forces, the government and defense industries. (3) Sending of telegrams, letters and making long distance telephone calls to the presidents and personnel managers of every southern railroad and terminal company to observe the Constitution by abolishing jim-crow cars and terminal railroad waiting rooms marked "colored". (4) Calling upon every Negro and white preacher paper and magazine to preach sermons and write editorials on "I AM AN AMERICAN, TOO" with slogan "Defeat Hitler, Mussolini and Hirohito by enforcing and observing the Constitution and abolishing jim-crow.

It is Mr. Randolph's suggestion that the Negro organizations throughout the country plan and execute "I AM AN AMERICAN, TOO" WEEK as a symbol of the struggle of the Negro people for the status of first class citizenship.

PRESS RELEASE

An International Union
BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS
217 West 125th Street, Room 301
New York, N. Y.

RANDOLPH SAYS PRESIDENT SACRIFICES FEPC TO SOUTHERN RACE HATRED

New York City, January 12, 1943

It is reported from reliable sources that Paul V. McNutt, Administrator of the War Manpower Commission, telephoned Lawrence Cramer, Secretary to the President's Committee On Fair Employment Practice, that orders had come down from the Boss, meaning the President, to postpone indefinitely the hearings on discriminations on account of race, color, religion or nationality in the railroad industry, scheduled to be held January 25th, 26th, 27th, in Washington, D. C.

In view of the fact, Negro workers whose toil, sweat, tears and blood have laid the rails and cross-ties, shoveled tons of coal, firing the coal-burner engines and worked like slaves to build and maintain the railroads of the South, are now being kicked off their jobs and their seniority rights disregarded by the calling off of these hearings by FEPC that were intended to investigate and put a stop to this racial discrimination, is shocking, amazing and disturbing to the Negro people of the country.

It is a grave blow to national unity and plays into the hands of the Axis powers by indicating to the hundreds of millions of people of color our allies, that this is the sample of justice they may expect from the United Nations.

It is a slap in the face of, and an insult to, upwards of twenty millions of Negro Americans. It makes them feel that the President is surrendering to the race-prejudice-mongering political demagogues of the South of the stripe of Bilbo and Rankin of Mississippi, Talmadge of Georgia, Governor

Dixon of Alabama and Martin Dies of Texas.

President Roosevelt stated in the famous White House Conference on discriminations on account of race, color, religion or nationality in the defense industries and the government, which was attended by Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of the Navy, Frank Knox, Walter White, Secretary of the National Association For the Advancement of Colored People, Aubrey Williams, Director of the National Youth Administration, Anna Rosenberg of the Social Security Board, Mayor Fiorello H. LaGuardia, Knudsen and Sidney Hillman, Co-Directors of the Office of Production Management, Frank R. Crosswaith, Chairman of the Negro Labor Committee of New York City, Layle Lane, Vice-President of the American Federation of Teachers and the writer, that some government agency is needed to which may be presented complaints of discriminations. Under Executive Order 8802, he established such an agency which is charged with the responsibility of investigating discriminations in defense industries and the government and taking steps to eliminate them. Such is the responsibility and function of FEPC. But if the hearings on discriminations in railroads are to be summarily and indefinitely called off after months of careful preparation for them, then there is only one conclusion Negroes can reach, namely, that FEPC is useless and that it can no longer be looked to for help.

It seems to show further that FEPC was just a sop, and appeasement, in the first place to stop the March On Washington for jobs and justice in defense industries and the government.

All Negro leaders and organizations are urged to send telegrams and make long distance calls to the President requesting him to step in and save FEPC from destruction by Southern Negro phobists by ordering the railroad hearing by FEPC to go on as scheduled.

MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York, N.Y.

RANDOLPH SAYS MCNUTT'S POSE AS FRIEND OF NEGROES

WILL FOOL NOBODY

New York City, January 22, 1943

The latest strategy of Paul V. McNutt, Chairman of the War Manpower Commission as expressed in PM Friday, January 22nd, to divert attention from his surrender to southern Ku Klux bigots and the powerful railroad carriers and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen by cancelling the railroad hearings on racial discrimination, is to pose as the Negroes' friend, states A. Philip Randolph, National Director of the March On Washington Movement. While McNutt is undoubtedly realistic in politics and government and keeps his nose to the ground for political trends to determine what is likely to be wise political strategy, he is being misled and illy-advised if he believes that Negroes are going to forget that he stabbed FEPC in the back by calling off these railroad hearings on racial discriminations.

McNutt is given credit for being a master political strategist, but he displayed his innocence and naive understanding of Negro people when he refused to receive the full delegation of Negro and white citizens who called at the War Manpower Commission for conference with him Tuesday, January 19th. He wanted to display his toughness by insisting on only four of the delegates coming into the conference. With this rebuff, the delegation composed of Catholics, Jewish rabbis, and protestant ministers as well as Negro and white outstanding laymen, refused to agree to any part of the delegation seeing McNutt.

The suggestion by Mr. McNutt of a paid board similar to the National Labor Relations Board would only have merit if it were the result

of congressional legislation. But such a board at this time is not advisable because it will be purely political. A non-paid committee such as FEPC was, before it was killed is preferable because the committee is independent of government officials whereas a paid committee will do as it is told to do which generally may not be for the best interest of the people.

The Negro people insist upon the following things, namely: (1) the appointment of men to take the place of thos who have resigned from FEPC, (2) take FEPC out of the War Manpower Commission and restore it to its original position of independence with responsibility to the President and give it more power, including the assigning of penalties with fines or imprisonment to recalcitrant employees or trade union officials; (3) hold the railroad hearings that were scheduled; (4) provide a budget of two million dollars for an adequate staff for the committee, concluded Mr. Randolph.

PRESS RELEASE

MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York, N.Y.

WEBSTER, DICKERSON, BROPHY AND SHISKIN COMMENDED

FOR STICKING WITH FEPC

New York City, January 22, 1943

Milton P. Webster, 1st International Vice-President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and Chairman of the Sub-committe ofFEPC charged with the responsibility of investigating discriminations in the railroad industry and to organize and develop data to constitute the basis for hearings by FEPC, Earl B. Dickerson, lawyer and alderman of Chicago, John Brophy, representing Philip Murray of CIO and Boris Shiskin, representing William Green of the A. F. of L, ought to be commended for sticking with the committee until they can find out what this cancellation of the railroad hearings is all about as well as to have a show-down of policy with Paul V. McNutt and the President, states Mr. Randolph, National Director of the March On Washington Movement.

PRESS RELEASE

MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York City

THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT AND THE WAR

(By A. Philip Randolph)

New York City, January 29, 1943

Because of many and varying and sometimes misleading comments on the March On Washington Movement and its program with reference to the war, I want definitely to indicate that the MOWM is unequivocally back of the war effort and seeks the victory of the United Nations. We take this position for several reasons: one, the victory of the Axis powers would spell death to the struggle of minority groups, including Negroes, for their liberation. Two, since the Negro people are largely workers and the hope of the workers lies in trade union organizations, and since the Axis powers have destroyed the labor movement in their own countries, we know that if they won the war there would be no future for the trade union movement. Three, the totalitarian system represented by Germany, Italy and Japan, outlaws democracy including freedom of speech, the press, assembly, right of petition, trial by jury and freedom of worship that provide an opportunity for minority groups to give expression to their cause.

The March On Washington Movement is seeking the right of a limited expression for Negro people to tell their story to the world about the oppression and exploitation from which they have suffered. We therefore call for the complete extermination of Hitler and Hitlerism, but we don't hesitate to also point out that the defeat of Hitler does not mean the defeat of Hitlerism. It is possible for Hitler and Nazi Germany to be overthrown and the spirit of Hitlerism to live not only in Europe but grow and spread in America because it already exists here. It expresses itself in all forms of discrimination, segregation and jim-crow, the death of Odell Waller, sharecropper, lynching and the shameful filibuster of the Anti-Poll Tax Bill. Therefore, the March On Washington Movement believes that the Negro people must fight now for their democratic rights and that their fight is compatible with the fight of the United Nations to conquer Hitler of Nazi Germany, Mussolini of Fascist Italy and Hirohito of Militarist Japan.

The plan of the March On Washington Movement to ponder and discuss non-violent civil disobedience and non-cooperation in its all-out National Negro Conference the last week in May does not involve opposition to the war. Civil disobedience and non-cooperation will not involve the armed forces or

Negro workers in the defense industries. It is a form of social protest and revolt against unjust, unfair and undemocratic laws that violate the basic moral and human citizenship rights of the Negro people. Instead of hindering the war it will help the war by developing a deep sense of national unity because it seeks to achieve what the war seeks to achieve, namely, democracy.

In the South, non-violent civil disobedience and non-cooperation will take the negative form of boycotting jim-crow cars on trains and surface lines and calling upon the parents of children to refuse to send their children to school during the week that is designated for the application of the social strategy. In the civil rights states, it will take the positive form of Negroes exercising their right to make use of agencies and enter places they do not normally make use of, such as going into the downtown sections of cities as patrons of the hotels, restaurants and places of entertainment with their white Christian friends.

The March On Washington Movement will also call upon white liberals and Christian America while the non-violent civil disobedience and non-cooperation program is being applied, to refuse to enter any place or share in any privilege or right denied the Negro citizens of the country. This is certain to have a profound spiritual and moral influence upon the whole social thinking of America.

Training and education will be intensively carried on before this program is projected to develop the proper moral and intellectual attitude with a view to making this technique successful. Provocative and hysterical articles have been written recently on account of ignorance or fear to stampede Negroes into docile submission to oppression and exploitation. Of course, there may and will be some trouble. But the non-violent civil disobedience non-cooperation program of the March On Washington Movement will not provoke it. We take no responsibility for provocateurs. But Negroes need to understant that freedom, justice and equality for any people were never won on flowery beds of ease. If Negroes are scared to fight for their rights, they just as well quit now because a people who have fear in their hearts are doomed to be slaves.

PRESS RELEASE

MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York City

SAVE FEPC CONFERENCE PLANNED

IN WASHINGTON FEBRUARY 5TH

New York City, January 30, 1943

The Provisional Committee for the Organization of Colored Locomotive Firemen has called a "Save FEPC Conference" to be held in Washington, D. C. at the YWCA, 9th and Rhode Island Avenue, Friday, February 5th, at 11 A.M., for the purpose of discussing ways and means to save the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice which was established under Executive Order 8802. Representatives from Negro churches, the Jews, the Catholics and white protestant religious groups, trade unions, women's groups, business and professional associations, fraternal lodges, college fraternities and sororities, the NAACP, the National Urban League, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the Dining Car Employees Union, the red caps and individuals are being invited to attend the conference. Several delegations out of the conference will be formed to wait on Attorney-General Biddle of the Department of Justice, Paul V. McNutt, Chairman of the War Manpower Commission, James F. Burns of Economic Stabilization and various congressmen and senators to lay before them the crisis which exists with FEPC and to demand that this committee be maintained and strengthened with the power to assess penalties and fines against recalcitrant trade unions and employers, restoration of FEPC to its former independent position with responsibility to the President, an adequate budget and personnel, the holding of the railroad hearings and the other hearings in Detroit, St. Louis, Baltimore and New York.

Walter White, Secretary of NAACP and A. Philip Randolph, National Director of the March On Washington Movement will attend, according to reports by Ashley L. Totten, Secretary-Treasurer of the Provisional Committee for the Organization of Colored Locomotive Firemen at their headquarters at 217 West 125th Street, New York City.

The American Civil Liberties Union, the National Conference of Christians and Jews, the League For Industrial Democracy, Workers Defense League, Post War World Council are expected to send delegates.

Press Release

SPECIAL RELEASE

MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York, N. Y.

February 14, 1943

Dear Editor:

Abraham Lincoln, if he were alive, would have liked what happened last Friday in Washington, before the great statue erected in his memory. At two o'clock on the afternoon of February 12th a little group of clergymen climbed the steps leading to the Memorial. They represented the three faiths; Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish. Three of them were colored and three were white. They came to execute a symbolic act of interfaith and interracial unity; to say by their presence that the brotherhood of the spirit transcends doctrinal differences; that there can be no bar of race, creed, or color in the service of democracy. Then, as they stood bowed in the columned court before the statue, the rich voices of the Howard University Glee Club poured forth noble music; "The Battle Hymn of the Republic" and "Go Down Moses".

Could there have been a more fitting observance of the Great Emancipator's birthday? We have reason, all of us, I think, to be grateful to the participants in this ceremony and especially to the enlightened and courageous clergymen who sponsored this ceremony; Bishop Francis J. McConnell, Senior Bishop of the Greater New York area of the Methodist Church, Father John LaFarge, S.J., Executive Editor of "America", Dr. Sidney A. Goldstein, of the Commission on Justice and Peace of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, and Dr. W.H. J. Jernagin, chairman of the Executive Board of the Fraternal Council of Negro Churches.

Why should not a Lincoln Memorial Pilgrimage become a permanent feature of the day? Already the Protestant churches have set aside Sunday, February 14th as "Race Relations Sunday." Why should not Lincoln's birthday itself be made the occasion not merely for a symbolic ceremony participated in not merely by Negroes but by other minority groups as well as by the progressive spiritual leaders of the majority groups which have an equal stake in the ending of race discrimination, the building of interracial unity and peace? Why should not Lincoln's Birthday be made the occasion for an annual review and re-appraisal of the progress made toward completing that great task of Emancipation which Lincoln began?

Next year I hope that we shall have not one such ceremony, but hundreds, all over America, wherever there is a statue of Lincoln, and wherever groups of enlightened citizens of both races, both churchmen and laymen, can be brought together to re-affirm Lincoln's high faith and to advance the cause he served.

(over)

I should welcome correspondence with readers who think this is a practicable idea and would like to bring it to fruitition. We are,

Your faithful servants,

A. Philip Randolph,
National President.

B. F. McLaurin,
National Secretary.

Press Release file

17 W 125-54.

FOR THE PRESS IMMEDIATE RELEASE FEBRUARY 3, 1943

The President announced today that he had requested Mr. Paul V. McNutt, Chairman of the War Manpower Commission, after consultations with the members of the Committee on Fair Employment Practice, to call a conference of leaders of those groups opposing discrimination in war employment to consider a revision and strengthening of the Committee's scope and powers.

For nearly two years, the President said, the Fair Employment Practice Committee and its Executive Director have done an excellent piece of work, placing workers in war jobs. They, however, have been handicapped by the fact that the members of the Committee were working on a part-time voluntary basis; and did not have powers or personnel commensurate with their responsibilities.

The President said he considers it advisable, therefore, to review the situation; and that, when the machinery has been established to meet the problem, the hearings in the railroad case and in any other cases which may have been temporarily postponed will be continued.

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PRESS RELEASE

MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York City

RANDOLPH SAYS PAID FEPC BOARD MEATLESS BONE OF APPEASEMENT

TO NEGRO PEOPLE

New York City, February 4, 1943

Commenting on the statement of President Roosevelt in the papers Thursday morning, February 4th suggesting that FEPC had been handicapped because of part time voluntary services of its members, A. Philip Randolph, National Director of the March On Washington Movement, stated that FEPC has not suffered so much because of voluntary part time services of its members as from a meager and inadequate budget and insufficient personnel. He said that the immediate need of FEPC is not re-organization but the appointment of a chairman and the replacement of the members who have resigned.

Mr. Randolph considers as "must" demands on the FEPC question the following: (1) that the railroad hearings be held immediately; (2) that the hearings in Detroit, St. Louis, Baltimore and other places also be held; (3) that an adequate budget be provided; (4) that the principle of public hearings be adhered to with other enforcement sanctions including the assessment of penalties and fines upon recalcitrant employers and trade unions; (5) that FEPC be taken out of the Manpower Commission and restored to an independent status with responsibility to the President; (6) that a personnel which is complete, to meet the needs of the national scope of the problem, be employed; (7) that the committee be unpaid; (8) that Labor and the Negro be represented on the committee.

The March On Washington Movement believes that a paid committee will not be free and independent. It feels that it will make it too political and will tie the committee to the administration and may cause it to forget the

problem of the minority groups that are victims of the discriminations in the defense industries. Realizing that Negroes are weak on government jobs, the paid committee is made to provide a big job for one Negro as an appeasement to the Negro masses. Feeling is strong among the Negro people that the time has come when Negroes are ready to forego jobs for one or two big Negroes for the interest and benefit of the larger and broader masses.

Moreover, if FEPC is killed and a paid board takes its place, there is no assurance that the paid board will not meet the same fate as FEPC and that it will be sabatoged and sacrificed for political considerations at the expense of the people. Besides, it is agreed that the committee has done a good job. Let it do a better job, concluded Mr. Randolph.

PRESS RELEASE

MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York City

RANDOLPH SAYS NEGROES MUST BACK PICKENS AGAINST MARTIN DIES

Chicago, Illinois, February 13, 1943

When William Pickens, veteran Negro leader, was taken off the payroll of the United States Treasury Department as a result of the nororious lies of Congressman Martin Dies, on the grounds of alleged Communist connections, it was a slap in the face and a challenge to all Negro Americans who have one drop of blood of pride of race and to all Americans, regardless of race, color, creed or national origin who believe in real democracy, stated A. Philip Randolph, National Director of the March On Washington Movement, at the mid-western headquarters, 43rd Street and South Parkway, Chicago, Illinois.

He continued that this outrageous attack upon Dean Pickens is an attack upon the Negro people and we must show our resentment in no uncertain terms, through a flood of tele rams and letters and long distance telephone calls to Martin Dies, President Roosevelt, Henry Morgenthau, Secretary of the United States Treasury and also through mass meetings throughout the country protesting this bit of Hitlerism in America.

PRESS RELEASE

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York, N.Y.

THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT AND NON-VIOLENT CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

(By E. Pauline Myers, Executive Secretary)

New York City, February 23, 1943

This is an hour of crisis. Negro Americans are frustrated. Growing discontent is visible among the multitude. Eager eyes and questioning faces are turned toward leadership in search of a way out. The old method of conferences, round table discussions, pink tea parties, luncheons and Black Cabinets has been exploded. The patience of Negro America is sorely tried. Mere organization is not enough. Professional organizations, religious organizations, social organizations, recreational organizations are plentiful but they cannot solve the problem. Negroes are tired of charity, especially that of the good will variety that destroys their dignity and aids in greater exploitation. The Negro has experimented for seventy-eight years with the education formula showing the white man why he should be free. He is not asking for a hand out. The Negro American has come to maturity and he wants to be free to walk as a man. He is no longer a child of the human race begging that some self-appointed savior take his hand and lead him. He is tired of being the white man's burden. The desire is for unadulterated freedom which is without compromise. Not a promise for future consideration, but democracy now, with all the attending rights, privileges and responsibilities pertaining thereto. The need is for mass organization with an action program aggressive, bold and challenging in spirit, but non-violent in character. Such a program is the March On Washington Movement.

The Movement seeks first of all the right to the freedom of expression for Negro people to tell their story to the world about the oppression and exploitation to which they are subjected. The aim is to educate and shape public opinion by letting the world know that the Negro is ouraged by the hypocrisy and

seeming indifference to his welfare. While Congress, the President and the Nation beg: and debate the question of extending democracy to oplored Americans, we spend our blood, our brain and our brawn fighting for it abroad. If America is sincere about the freedom of the world she must grant that freedom at home. She will not need to spend billions for armaments here in order to extend this freedom she can give it by the mere stroke of the pen.

The objective of the MOWM is first to crystallize the mass consciousness of injustices and inhumanity toward people of color and project it into a cause for which Negroes themselves will gladly and willingly suffer and sacrifice; secondly, to re-educate white America on the question of equal rights for Negroes; and, thirdly, to enlist the mind and will of liberal and Christian America to join in an all-out struggle for the abolition of jim-crow and other unjust laws which condemn and subject their fellow Americans to exploitation, indignity and humiliation.

The first job is to organize Negroes in mass so that they may be summoned into action over night for mass demonstrations and maneuvers. The attempt is to do the usual because only the usual attracts.

The idea of a March On Washington is in itself one of the techniques of non-violent direct action in as much as it is a demonstration of the numerical strength of the Negro people on the March for their rights, disciplined and organized, spiritually and morally motivated so that they show no violence either in word or in deed, and seeking only to place their cause in the main stream of public opinion.

A. Philip Randolph, National Director of MOWM, in calling the Negro people to convene in Chicago the last week in May to ponder and discuss non-violent civil disobedience as one of the methods for solving the American race problem is calling upon Black America to non-violently protest in mass the unfair and undemocratic laws that violate the basic moral and human citizenship right of the Negro people. The effect is that of a boycott. If the National Conference adopts this method the Negro people will be called upon to boycott trains, street cars, buses, restaurants, waiting rooms, rest rooms, hotels,

schools and institutions that have jim crow laws and patterns for one week. They will be expected to occupy the regular accomodations provided for other Americans in a disciplined, dignified, non-violent manner and if they are ejected forcibly or otherwise, they will accept it without fighting back and without showing any violence either in word or in deed. They will keep repeating this over and over again in mass until the idea takes shape all over this land that Negroes mean to be free. They will oppose unjust laws not accepting them.

The idea is dramatic but not entirely new for Negroes either as individuals or as groups. It is traditional for Negroes to "Jump Jim Crow", in spite of the fact that the escape is often expensive, sacrificial and many times hazardous. Such jumps sometimes take the form of mass migrations in which groups of Negroes migrate north, east and west in search of an escape from jim crow schools and jim crow jobs. The mass migration is but another form of the technique of non-violent direct action. To jump jim crow travel facilities Negroes have made no little sacrifice in order to purchase the most expensive and luxurious limousines on the most meager incomes. To jump jim crow street cars and buses Negroes have motored to and from work at often greater expense to themselves than if they had made use of the public utilities. Negroes have often subjected themselves to hazardous circumstances such as "Passing for White" in order to jump jim crow and in order to obtain jobs that were outside the jim crow pattern. Individual Negroes have often sacrificed their families to perfect such escapes although at times they have been unconscious of so doing. The only difference between the "Jump Jim Crow" idea and the idea behind the March On Washington Movement is that Negroes will consciously dramatize the problem before the whole nation by a mass demonstration of disobedience to jim crow laws and patterns, the philosophy being that citizens are morally obligated to disobey an unjust law.

No members of the March On Washington Movement will be called upon to volunteer in a program for Non-Violent Direct Action until they have been organized by duly authorized officials of the Movement. Volunteers must pledge

themselves to show no violence either in word or in deed even if violence be shown unto them. The idea is not to provoke a race riot in America. The road is always open for negotiations. The aim is to harness the flow of rising resentment and indignation on the part of Negro Americans that has become intensified due to the conditions of the war and turn it into a deep spiritual force for constructive social action.

The March On Washington Movement is not against the war and has no intentions of obstructing the war effort. Soldiers, sailors, and defense workers will not be called upon to enlist in the campaign. In reality the program will be helping the war effort because Negro Americans will be helping to defeat the Hitlerites at home and thereby helping to win democracy for the world.

The anxious eyes of India and China are being turned toward America. America can no longer remain half slave and half free. The time to choose the way is now. We cannot put our faith entirely in armaments to win freedom for the world. Our faith must be fixed on truth.

"Ye hereditary bondsmen, know ye that he who would be free must himself strike the first blow."

PRESS RELEASE

Mid-Western Headquarters
MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
4231 South Michigan Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

RANDOLPH SAYS NEGROES SHOULD DEMAND ACTION ON FEPC NOW

Chicago, Illinois, March 4, 1943

In the Mid-Western Headquarters of the March On Washington Movement, 43rd Street and South Parkway, A. Philip Randolph, National Director of the March On Washington Movement, stated that Negro and white organizations, church, civic, fraternal, educational, trade union, business, political, and individuals should flood President Roosevelt, Paul V. McNutt of War Manpower Commission and Frances Biddle of the Department of Justice, with telegrams, letters, cards and telephone calls, demanding that action be taken on FEPC now by appointment of a new chairman and two members to replace those who have resigned, ordering of railroad hearings immediately by FEPC, providing adequate budget and personnel, taking the Committee out of the War Manpower Commission and maintaining of FEPC as an unpaid Committee.

If this action is not taken now, FEPC may die from inaction, concluded Mr. Randolph.

PRESS RELEASE

Mid-Western Headquarters
MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
43rd Street & South Parkway
Chicago, Illinois

MIDDLE WEST RALLIES TO M.O.W. MAY CONFERENCE

Chicago, Illinois, March 4, 1943

In a trip covering Columbus, St. Paul, Detroit, Cleveland and Kansas City, Missouri, A. Philip Randolph, National Director of the March On Washington Movement, says that interest and enthusiasm for the forthcoming all-out National Negro Conference sponsored by MOWM for the last week in May, 1943, in Chicago, to ponder, discuss and plan broad programs of actions to abolish jim-crow in the armed forces, the government and defense industry, and express the collective feeling and thought of the Negro today on vital issues affecting his destiny in America and the world during the war and in the post-war world, are spreading like prairie fire.

PRESS RELEASE

National Headquarters
MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York, N. Y.

RANDOLPH SAYS NEGROES CANNOT AFFORD TO LOSE FIGHT TO SAVE FEPC

New York City, March 11, 1943

At the national offices of the March On Washington Movement in the Theresa Building, New York City, A. Philip Randolph, National Director, who has just returned from a mid-western trip, stated that the Negroes cannot afford to lose the fight to save FEPC.

The President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice, continued Mr. Randolph is a symbol of the struggle and moral courage and intelligence of the Negro and it goes to the root of the race question inasmuch as it is concerned with job getting and job holding.

Mr. Randolph also pointed out that the great delay between the conference called by Paul V. McNutt in Washington, February 19th, of organizations interested in FEPC under orders of President Roosevelt is dangerous to FEPC. He insists that the southern block with the Big Four Brotherhoods and anti-laber eastern business interests are all conspiring to sabotage and hamstring FEPC which is an inspiration to greater militancy and struggle on the part of the Negro for the cause of liberation. Therefore, all Negro organizations and individuals should get busy and send telegrams to the President, Paul V. McNutt and Francis Biddle and their congressmen and Senators urging that action be taken to hold the railroad hearings and reconstitute FEPC with more power, personnel and funds, immediately.

PRESS RELEASE

National Headquarters
MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York, N. Y.

VIGILANCE IS THE PRICE OF SAVING FEPC

New York City, March 17, 1943

Unless the Negro people keep ever alert and vigilant and see to it that FEPC is not sacrificed upon the altar of political opportunism, this important government agency which has gotten thousands of jobs for Negroes may be scuttled and sunk, observed A. Philip Randolph, National Director of the March On Washington Movement.

PRESS RELEASE

National Headquarters
MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York, N.Y.

NEGRO AND WHITE LEADERS CALL FOR ACTION ON FEPC

New York City, March 25, 1943

The March On Washington Movement recognizing the great danger attending the delayed action of the railroad hearings and FEPC, sent the following telegram signed by representatives of leading organizations to President Roosevelt:

Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt
President of U. S. A.
White House
Washington, D. C.

Received telegram March 18 from Fowler W. Harper, Deputy Chairman, War Manpower Commission stating: "President Roosevelt has referred your telegram of March 8 to Mr. McNutt. We are doing everything possible to arrive at a satisfactory solution of the problem with which we are all concerned. We hope that within a matter of days an announcement will be made which will be satisfactory to all concerned. It will deal with the Committee and with the hearings." Because it has been one month and four days since conference was called by Mr. McNutt and Attorney Francis Biddle under your order for organizations interested in FEPC to express their views on its work and future, the undersigned are greatly disturbed lest those forces that practice discriminations on account of race, color, religion or national origin become more emboldened and aggressive in treating your Executive Order 8802 as the proverbial scrap of paper, which will endanger national unity, and play into the hands of the Axis powers. Since the minority groups affected by

discriminations have not had the honor and opportunity to discuss the status of FEPC with you face to face, the undersigned wish herewith to request a conference with you at the earliest possible date to advise you of the new danger that threatens FEPC which has done constructive work for manpower mobilization and better race raltions. We hope we may have the privilege of presenting to you a report on industrial and manpower conditions affecting minority groups which may be helpful in your selection of personnel. An immediate reply would be greatly appreciated.

Signed:

Walter White, Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

Channing H. Tobias, National Council of YMCAS

Lester Granger, Executive Secretary, National Urban League

Frank R. Crosswaith, Chairman, Negro Labor Committee

Morris Milgram, Executive Secretary, Workers Defense League

Dr. Sidney Goldstein, Commission On Justice and Peace, Central Conference of American Rabbis

Dr. Max Yergan, President, National Negro Congress

Ann Arnold Hedgeman, Member, Brooklyn Branch, NAACP

A. Philip Randolph, National Director, March On Washington Movement

PRESS RELEASE

National Headquarters
MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York, 27, N. Y.

RANDOLPH SAYS NEGROES MUST MAKE SUPREMENT COURT DECISION ON RIGHT TO VOTE IN PRIMARIES A REALITY

New York, N. Y., April 9, 1944

The United States Supreme Court decision that Negroes cannot be barred from the Texas primary election is undoubtedly a great step forward in the re-affirmation of the Negroes' constitutional rights, but it is not the last word by any manner of means, in the struggle of the Negro to exercise the right of suffrage in the South.

The final word is to be given by the Negroes themselves. The Supreme Court decision is not self-executing. It can only be made a living reality by Negroes in every Southern state by actually going to the polls to register and vote, regardless of consequences.

Already a Georgia editor has been quoted as saying that the Supreme Courts' decision will be largely meaningless, "so long as the registration boards can ask a prospective voter to recite the Declaration of Independence, and then can throw him out for omitting the commas."

Only the constant physical appearance of Negroes at the polls to register and vote and their demand and fight for the abolition of discriminatory devices in registration and voting through various forms of protest and legal action, will cause the decision to be a living force.

Whenever efforts are made to nullify the intent and purpose of this Decision, Negroes should immediately get affidavits from persons upon whom discriminatory practices, in registration and voting, are tried, and call upon the United States Department of Justice to protect their right to register and vote.

It must be remembered that the 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution are a dead letter because the Negroes themselves never actually seriously attempted to make them a living reality.

Some Southerners think the whole difficulty will be cleared up by non-appearance of Negroes at the ballot boxes, despite their newly cited prerogatives.

The answer is that Negroes must overcome fear and the habit patterns of letting well-enough alone and taking the easiest way out.

PRESS RELEASE

National Headquarters
MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York, N.Y.

THE WORSE SCANDAL OF THE WAR - JIM-CROW IN UNIFORM

New York City, April 10, 1943

At the national headquarters of the March On Washington Movement, in the Hotel Theresa Building, A. Philip Randolph, National Director, is seen purchasing a copy of the pamphlet by Mr. Dwight McDonald which describes the discriminations Negroes in the armed forces and those trying to get in, are bearing, from Miss E. Pauline Myers, National Executive Secretary. It is a part of the fight of the March On Washington Movement to make the democratic process work in America, stated Mr. Randolph.

This pamphlet is spreading the truth about the Winnifred Lynn Case involving discrimination against Negroes in the army.

A monster mass meeting on this Case will be given in the Golden Gate, Thursday night, April 22, under the auspices of the March On Washington Movement assisted by other organizations.

PRESS RELEASE

National Headquarters
MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York, N.Y.

New York City, April 13, 1943

The March On Washington Movement issues call to Negro Americans for "WE ARE AMERICANS, TOO" Conference to be held in Chicago June 30th through July 4th to ponder and map program for the all-out frontal attack on jim-crow in America, the No. 1 enemy of first-class citizenship for the Negro people, states A. Philip Randolph, National Director, at the national headquarters in the Theresa Hotel Building, New York City.

An imposing group of nationally known citizens have signed the Call. Organizations as well as individuals will be invited to participate in this memorable conference. Its purpose will be, reported Mr. Randolph, to place the Negro people on record as uncompromising in their struggle to achieve their democratic rights during the war and at the same time give their all to help win the war against the Axis powers.

Note to Editor:

Kindly give Call front page and display heading if convenient.

PRESS RELEASE

National Headquarters
MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York, N. Y.

CALL

FOR NON*PARTISAN POLITICAL CONFERENCE FOR NEGROES
BY THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT

New York, N. Y., April 15, 1944

At the National Headquarters of the March On Washington Movement in the Theresa Hotel Building, New York City, it was announced that a National Non-Partisan Political Conference for Negroes would be called by the March On Washington Movement to take place in the Community Church, in Chicago, June 25 and 26th.

This conference will be composed of delegates from church, civic, labor, faternal, educational and political organizations representing various political faiths. It will be strictly non-partisan.

The purpose of this meeting will be to review the political history of the Negro, evaluate the present political status and formulate a program to meet the perplexing problems that now confront the Negro and will face him in the coming postwar years, stated A. Philip Randolph, National Director of the March On Washington Movement. Continuing, Mr. Randolph stated that the fight to win democracy at home is tied up with the fight to win democracy and destroy the Axis totalitarian tyranny abroad. The victory of democracy abroad and at home is two sides of the same shield. One cannot exist and endure without the other. Today the gathering forces of reaction, fascism, and jim-crowism threaten all of our democratic institutions; they are a challenge to the minority groups including the Negro; they endanger all of our gains on the racial, civic rights and labor front.

It is apparent that at home and abroad the forces of freedom and democracy have their backs against the wall. They are in retreat. They must be given new life, new faith and new hope.

Thus the March On Washington Movement, as a part of its national program, herewith plans to summon and rally the forces of labor, liberals and minorities upon a minimum platform demanding:

1. Enforcement of the 14th and 15th Amendments of the Constitution
2. Abolition of segregation and discrimination in the armed forces
3. Enactment of legislation to make FEPC permanent
4. Representation of the Negro at the Peace Conference.

Organizations interested in representation at this conference are requested to communicate with the national headquarters of the March On Washington Movement in New York.

Respectfully yours,

A. Philip Randolph, National Director
B. F. McLaurin, National Secretary
Thurman Dodson
Layle Lane
Jesse Taylor
Senora B. Lawson
Sam Harper
A. L. Thomas
David M. Grant
Mrs. D. D. Phillips
E. Vincent Suitt
Charles W. Burton
Bennie Smith
Theodore E. Brown
C. L. Dellums
Armena Davis
Wendell T. Liggins
L. M. Ervin
Leyton Weston
James E. Burns

PRESS RELEASE

National Headquarters
MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York, N.Y.

TEMPORARY NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF MOWM APPOINTED

New York City, April 21, 1943

It was announced at the National Headquarters of the March On Washington Movement, 2084 Seventh Avenue, New York City, that the temporary National Executive Committee will consist of the following persons:

Reverend M. C. Strachan of Tampa, Florida

C. L. Dellums of Oakland, California

Layle Lane, New York City

James A. Burns, Meridian, Mississippi

T. D. McNeal, St. Louis, Missouri

Senora B. Lawson, Richmond, Virginia

Aldrich Turner, New York City

Charles Wesley Burton, Chicago, Illinois

B. F. McLaurin, National Secretary, New York City

E. Pauline Myers, National Executive Secretary, N. Y. C.

Several other names will be added to this list, stated A. Philip Randolph, National Director.

PRESS RELEASE

National Headquarters
MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York, N.Y.

MARCH ON WASHINGTON UNIT SET UP IN NASHVILLE

Nashville, Tennessee, April 27, 1943

Following an address by A. Philip Randolph, National Director of the March On Washington Movement in Nashville, Tennessee, Monday evening, April 26th in the St. Auburn Baptist Church, a March On Washington Movement unit was set up under the leadership of Mrs. Davie Della Phillips.

A large group of people joined.

PRESS RELEASE

National Headquarters
MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York, N. Y.

PROMINENT NEGROES SIGN CALL FOR MOWM CONFERENCE

New York City, May 1, 1943

It was learned at the National Headquarters of the March On Washington Movement in the Theresa Hotel, New York City, that the following outstanding Negro leaders had signed the call for the "WE ARE AMERICANS, TOO" Conference sponsored by the March On Washington Movement, to be held in Chicago June 30th to July 4th:

Bishop John A. Gregg,
4th Episcopal District, A.M.E. Church

James A. Burns,
Attorney for Railroad Unions

Charles Wesley Burton, Director
Chicago Unit, March On Washington Movement

M. C. Clarke, President
Dunbar Mutual Insurance Society

James E. Cooke, Secretary
Pine Street Branch, YMCA, St. Louis, Missouri

Frank R. Crosswaith, Chairman
Negro Labor Committee

Elmer A. Carter, Membe
Unemployment Insurance Board, State of New York

F. E. DeFrantz, Executive Secretary
Senate Avenue Branch, YMCA
Indianapolis, Indiana

C. L. Dellums, 4th International Vice-President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters

Thurman L. Dodson, Director
Washington Unit, March On Washington Movement

Lawrence M. Ervin, Regional Director
March On Washington Movement, New York

C. A. Franklin, Editor
Kansas City Ca.l

John Holly, President
Future Outlook League, Cleveland, Ohio

Reverend D. V. Jemison, President
National Baptist Convention of U.S.A.

Layle Lane,
Teacher, Columnist

Rayford Logan, General President
Alpha Phi Alpha

B. F. McLaurin, National Secretary
March On Washington Movement

T. D. McNeal, Chairman
St. Louis Division, March On Washington Movement

Carl Murphy, President
Afro-American

E. Pauline Myers, National Executive Secretary
March On Washington Movement

William Stuart Nelson, Dean
School of Religion, Howard University

Julian Steele, Chairman
Boston Unit, March On Washington Movement

A. Philip Randolph, National Director
March On Washington Movement

Aldrich Turner, Treasurer
March On Washington Movement

The Vanguard League
222 North 20th Street
Columbus, Ohio

Thomas A. Webster, Chairman
Negro National Defense Committee of
Greater Kansas City

Charles H. Wesley, President
Wilberforce University

J. Finley Wilson, Grand Exalted Ruler
Improved Benevolent Order of Elks of the World

Reverend Horace A. White, Chairman
Detroit Division, March On Washington Movement

PRESS RELEASE

National Headquarters
MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York, N. Y.

RANDOLPH SAYS NEGROES SHOULD FIGHT TO REOPEN SAVOY BALLROOM

New York City, May 6, 1943

In the March On Washington Movement headquarters in the Theresa Hotel Building, A. Philip Randolph denounced the closing of the Savoy Ballroom as an insult to the Negro people of New York City in particular and the country in general, and demanded the reopening of Savoy and a public hearing on charges which the Police Department gives for closing ballroom. The claim that white soldiers have been infected with venereal diseases by colored women may or may not be true and is no sound reason for closing the hall.

White and Negro soldiers are being infected with venereal disease by white and colored women all over the country in white and colored places, but it is difficult for anyone to say where the contact is made.

The remedy lies in nation-wide mass medical and social education and treatment of the men in the armed forces and the public, and not in the discriminatory policy of closing only Negro dance halls, concluded Mr. Randolph.

PRESS RELEASE

National Headquarters
MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York City

MOWM SAYS JOB-WAGE FREEZE HURTS NEGROES

New York City, May 6, 1943

In commenting on the Job-Wage Freeze Executive Order by President Roosevelt, A. Philip Randolph, International President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and Director of the March On Washington Movement states that the President's Order is the most revolutionary and drastic decree which has been issued on wages and employment in a so-called democracy.

It hurts all labor but particularly the Negro since he is frozen in inferior jobs and wages, and Negro and white workers must fight to change it, said Mr. Randolph.

PRESS RELEASE

National Headquarters
MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York City

GREAT MISSIONARY DR. E. STANLEY JONES TO SPEAK AT MOWM MEET

New York City, May 6, 1943

It was learned at the March On Washington Movement's headquarters in the Theresa Hotel Building, New York City, from E. Pauline Myers, National Executive Secretary, that Dr. E. Stanley Jones, noted missionary, was expected to speak at the "WE ARE AMERICANS, TOO" Conference to be held in Chicago, June 30th to July 4th by the March On Washington Movement.

Dr. Jones is one of the most militant internationally known white champions of the cause of the Negro people in the world today.

PRESS RELEASE

National Headquarters
MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York City

NEGRO SOLDIERS ABUSED BY WHITE OFFICERS

AT CAMP STEWART, GEORGIA

New York City May 11, 1943

According to reliable information received at the March On Washington Movement headquarters at the Hotel Theresa Building in New York City, Negro soldiers are subjected to unlimited segregation at Camp Stewart, Georgia, and it is said that white officer have been seen kicking colored soldiers.

No proper supervision of soldiers with venereal diseases is carried on in this camp and the white officers go to unusual and inexcusable lengths to insult and humiliate Negro soldiers. Secretary Stimson of the War Department should be written letters by Negro citizens and various organizations demanding an investigation of this camp immediately, stated A. Philip Randolph, National Director.

PRESS RELEASE

National Headquarters
MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York, N.Y.

"WE ARE AMERICANS, TOO" CONFERENCE TO HIGHLIGHT

INTERNATIONAL PHASE OF NEGRO PROBLEM

New York City, May 19, 1943

With a panel on the "International Clash of Color" in which the whole question of Race and World Imperialism will be explored at the "WE ARE AMERICANS, TOO" Conference sponsored by the March On Washington Movement in Chicago, June 30th to July 4th, the international aspect of the problem of the Negro people will be highlighted, stated B. F. McLaurin, National Secretary of the March On Washington Movement, who left New York City, May 21st on a southern tour in the interest of MOWM.

Africa, India, China, the West Indies, the isles of the sea, together with the Negro in the United States will be the subject of extended and expert discussion, said Mr. McLaurin.

PRESS RELEASE

National Headquarters
MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York, N. Y.

RANDOLPH SAYS NEGROES MUST KEEP VIGIL OVER FEPC

New York City, May 19, 1943

Even when a chairman of FEPC is appointed by President Roosevelt, Negroes must not relax their vigil over the Fair Employment Practice Committee or the whole purpose and value of FEPC may be sabatoged and destroyed, said A. Philip Randolph, National Director of the March On Washington Movement.

Negroes should not forget the "must" demands for FEPC that are: (1) immediate rescheduling of railroad hearings on racial discriminations, (2) removal of FEPC from War Manpower Commission, (3) adherence to principle of the public hearing, (4) adequate budget and personnel, (5) maintenance of voluntary committee, (6) retaining of present remaining four members who have stood firmly with the Committee.

PRESS RELEASE

National Headquarters
MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York, N. Y.

EXALTED GRAND RULER, J. FINLEY WILSON, TO ADDRESS

MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT CONFERENCE

New York City, May 28, 1943

At the National Headquarters of the March On Washington Movement, it was announced that Exalted Grand Ruler J. Finley Wilson will be one of the principal speakers at the opening of the conference of "We Are Americans, Too" spensored by the March On Washington Movement, June 30th to July 4th at the Metropolitan Community Church in Chicago, stated A. Philip Randolph, National Director of the March On Washington Movement.

Mr. Wilson is a dynamic orators and the most powerful fraternal leaders of Negroes in the world.

PRESS RELEASE

National Headquarters
MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York, N.Y.

MISS MYERS LEAVES FOR CHICAGO TO DIRECT

"WE ARE AMERICANS, TOO" CONFERENCE

New York City, May 28, 1943

Miss E. Pauline Myers, National Executive Secretary of the March On Washington Movement, leaves for Chicago, June 1st, to direct the building and execution of the "We Are Americans, Too" Conference sponsored by MOWM, which will be held June 30th to July 4th, according to reports received at the national headquarters in the Hotel Theresa Building in New York City.

PRESS RELEASE

National Headquarters
MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York, N. Y.

RANDOLPH SAYS NEGROES SHOULD PICKET METROPOLITAN INSURANCE COMPANY

TO FORCE CHANGE IN POLICY ON PROPOSED LILY-WHITE STUYVESANT TOWN

New York, N. Y., May 28, 1943

Commenting on the plan of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company to raze the Gas House district and build a "walled town" to be known as Stuyvesant Town, with the aid of a contribution from the City of New York of the tax payers money of some $28,000,000, which will be added to $50,000, 000 to be expended by the insurance company, and which will exclude, according to Mr. Frederick K. Eckner, Board of Directors Chairman, all Negro tenants and not even have a school which might be attended by Negro children, Mr. A. Philip Randolph, National Director of the March On Washington Movement, states that the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company should be picketed by Negroes to express their resentment to the "lily-white" policy and that Mayor LaGuardia should be told in unmistakeable terms that the Negroes are uncompromisingly opposed to the city using the tax-payers funds for this undemocratic and Fascist project.

Mr. Randolph also states that because of the expressed racial chauvinism of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company with respect to the project which is an insult to the Negroes in New York and the country in general, that the Negro policy holders should flood the company with letters of protest and threaten to drop their policies as reprisals against the action.

PRESS RELEASE

National Headquarters
MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York, N.Y.

NEGROES SHOULD DEMAND THAT PRESENT

MEMBERS OF FEPC BE RETAINED

New York City, May 28, 1943

Because of the splendid and effective work the present members of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice have done including Milton P. Webster, 1st International Vice-President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, William Green, President of A. F. of L, Earl B. Dickerson, Attorney of Chicago, and Philip Murray, President of CIO, in spite of the handicaps under which they have labored due to the resignation of the chairman, Dr. Malcolm McLean and other former members such as David Sarnoff, President of Radio Corporation of America and Mark Etheridge, Business Manager of the Louisville Courier Journal, together with the fact that Paul V. McNutt War Manpower Commission Chairman, postponed the railroad hearings which stopped the progressive activities of FEPC, these aforementioned four members remained on the Committee in the face of criticism and held the Committee in tact to move forward until the appointment of the new chairman, and they should be retained, said A. Philip Randolph, National Director of the March On Washington Movement.

PRESS RELEASE

National Headquarters
MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York, N. Y.

LARGE CROSS SECTION DELEGATION EXPECTED

AT MARCH ON WASHINGTON CONFERENCE IN CHICAGO

New York City, May 28, 1943

From the reports that are flowing into the national office of the March On Washington Movement in the Theresa Hotel Building in New York, a large delegation which will represent a complete cross section of Negro life in America is expected to attend the "We Are Americans, Too" Conference sponsored by MOWM in Chicago June 30th to July 4th, observed Mr. A. Philip Randolph, National Director at the headquarters.

The conference will debate basic questions involving strategy and the status of the Negro during the war and post war period.

PRESS RELEASE

National Headquarters
MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York, N. Y.

NEGROES SHOULD DEMAND PRESIDENT TO ORDER ARMY TO PROTECT NEGRO WORKERS ON SHIPYARD JOB IN MOBILE

New York City, May 28, 1943

At the national headquarters of the March On Washington Movement, A. Philip Randolph, in commenting on the race riot in the Pinto Island Shipyards in Mobile, Alabama, because Negro welders were being put on the job with white welders, stated that Negroes should demand that President Roosevelt have the Department of Justice investigate this shameful exhibition of racial prejudice and order the Federal Army to protect Negro workers on the jobs, and that no Negro worker should fail to stay on the job in the Mobile shipyards. For if Negroes can be run off jobs in the Pinto Island Shipyards and racial bigots get away with it, Negro workers will not be secure on any job any where, continued Mr. Randolph.

Mr. Randolph is also calling upon Philip Murray, President of CIO to take firm action in this matter and call out every white worker in the CIO in the Mobile shipyards in question unless Negro workers are permitted to return to work as welders.

PRESS RELEASE

National Headquarters
MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York, N. Y.

RESPONSE TO CALL FOR GREAT MOWM CONFERENCE IS PROMISING

New York City, June 8, 1943

At the headquarters of the March On Washington Movement in the Hotel Theresa Building, A. Philip Randolph, National Director, stated that the forthcoming "We Are Americans, Too" Conference sponsored by the MOWM is destined to be one of the greatest demonstrations of Negro power and attack upon jim-crow ever held in America.

Mr. Randolph leaves for Chicago this week and will remain there developing plans for the Conference until it is held.

PRESS RELEASE

National Headquarters
MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York, N.Y.

PAULINE MYERS, MOWM SECRETARY, ILL IN HOSPITAL

New York City, June 8, 1943

Among the shocks and surprises in the ranks of the March On Washington Movement was the sudden illness of Miss E. Pauline Myers, National Executive Secretary who is now recovering in the Wadsworth Hospital in New York City.

All MOWM members and friends hope that she will be up and able to carry on for the "We Are Americans, Too" Conference June 30th to July 4th, stated Miss Carrington, her secretary, at the MOWM headquarters.

PRESS RELEASE

National Headquarters
MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York, N. Y.

MOWM NOT ANTI-WHITE.

New York City, July 9, 1943

Contrary to the impression which communists attempt to spread, the March On Washington Movement is not anti-white. It is not anti-American or anti-labor or anti-War or anti-Semitic or anti-Catholic. It is simply pro-Negro. It is also pro-labor and pro-War, stated A. Philip Randolph, National Director at the national headquarters in the Theresa Building in New York.

Membership in the March On Washington Movement says Mr. Randolph is limited to Negroes because only Negroes are jim-crowed in America and they more than any one else feel the pain and embarassment and insult of segregation and discrimination. The Negro can and must be relied upon to take the initiative and assume the responsibility relentlessly, ceaselessly, and uncompromisingly to fight for the destruction of jim-crow. There is nothing strange about this. Only Jews can be expected to take the initiative and assume the responsibility of fighting anti-Semitism. And they do. Only Catholics can be expected to take the initiative and assume the responsibility of fighting anti-Catholicism. Only labor can be expected to take the initiative and assume the responsibility of fighting anti-labor legislation and practices. Why should Negroes expect to be different?

But this does not mean that the March On Washington or Negroes should reject the cooperation and collaboration of labor, business, Catholic and Jewish groups and various liberal movements in fighting to break down the barriers of discrimination and segregation in America.

While President Roosevelt is sympathetic with the American League of Women Voters he is not eligible for membership. The women believe they need an organization composed of women only to fight for specific objectives in behalf of women. This does not mean that the League of Women Voters is anti-men.

Mr. Wilkie may be assumed to be sympathetic with the objectives of the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O., but not being a worker, he is not eligible to become a member of these organizations. But no one can claim that the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. are discriminating against Wilkie because they don't take him in as a member observed Mr. Randolph.

Besides, states the leader of MOWM, jim-crow is a matter of legal or public compulsion and does not allow a choice. For instance, the Negro going from Atlanta to Augusta, Ga. must ride in the jim-crow car. A Negro in Georgia who wants hotel accommodations is compelled to seek lodging in a Negro hotel. This is jim-crow. A Negro has no other alternative other than seeking a Negro place for accommodations. These are public places of accommodation. But no white person is denied the right to join an organization in which they may fight to break down discrimination against Negroes because they cannot join the MOWM. There are many movements interracial in character which white people may join to fight for the rights of Negro people such as the N. A. A. C. P. and the National Urban League and other movements.

The March On Washington Movement seeks to develop a sense of self-reliance on the part of the Negro and takes the position that this can best be done through an organization composed of only Negroes. In as much as it is a matter of common history that most organizations among Negroes with white members have been generally nurtured and directed by white people. As a rule the white people are liberal, fair-minded and believe in Negro rights but even this is not sufficient for the preparation of the Negro effectively to fight against racial prejudices and eventually stand upon his own feet. The MOWM believes also that the Negro people should pay for the fight for their rights and not depend upon their white friends, concluded Randolph.

PRESS RELEASE

National Headquarters
MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York, N. Y.

E. STANLEY JONES EXPOUNDS NON-VIOLENT TECHNIQUE AT MOWM CONFERENCE

New York City, July 9, 1943

In the Chicago conference of "WE ARE AMERICANS, TOO" sponsored by the March On Washington Movement, E. Stanley Jones world renown missionary in one of the major addresses before the conference at the DuSable High School made an eloquent, illuminating and stirring exposition of the technique of Non-Violent Goodwill Direct Action as a method of attacking jim-crow in America. The outstanding emphasis of his talk was that those who take up this principle of social action must be prepared to evince the capacity to suffer in a comparable manner with the capacity of the enemies' to inflict suffering. He pointed out that the way to peace and goodwill was a way of non-violent direct action and that the way of violence and bloodshed could only lead to more violence and bloodshed, confusion, ill-will and social chaos.

His talk was greeted with a tremendous ovation from the huge audience which packed the DuSable High School. Dr. Jones came all the way from Mexico to address the meeting.

Mr. Randolph gave the other principle address in which he dealt with the program of the March On Washington Movement stressing the need for action in the Negro liberation movement.

PRESS RELEASE

National Headquarters
MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York, N. Y.

RAILROAD HEARINGS RESCHEDULED BY FEPC

New York City, July 9, 1943

In the last meeting of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice, which was held in Washington, D. C. July 6 and 7th under the direction of the new Chairman, Msgr. Francis J. Haas, decision was made that the railroad hearings would be rescheduled to take place September 15, 16 and 17th. Efforts are being made according to information received from some of the members of FEPC to secure Attorney Henry P. Epstein to serve as Chief Counsel for FEPC in the handling of the inquiry into discriminations on account of race or color in the railroad industry, to be assisted by Attorney Harold Stevens of New York and Attorney Charles H. Houston of Washington, D. C. states representatives at the March On Washington headquarters in the Theresa Hotel Building, in New York City.

This is one of the most important developments that have taken place since FEPC has gotten underway again and is of vast and far reaching concern to the Negro workers in the railroad industry in America and especially to the Colored Locomotive Firemen, Brakemen and Switchmen, says A. Philip Randolph, Chairman of the Provisional Committee of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters to organize the Colored Locomotive Firemen.

PRESS RELEASE

National Headquarters
MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York, N. Y.

MOWM ESTABLISHES PERMANENT ORGANIZATION

New York City, July 9, 1943

At the "WE ARE AMERICANS, TOO" Conference which was held under the auspices of the March On Washington Movement in Chicago, June 30 to July 4th, a permanent organization of March On Washington Movement was established, with A. Philip Randolph elected National Director, B. F. McLaurin, National Secretary and Aldrich Turner, National Treasurer. Miss E. Pauline Myers was selected by the National Executive Committee as the National Executive Secretary. The members elected on the National Executive Committee are as follows:

(By Regions)

North Atlantic

Thurman Dodson	Washington, D. C.
Layle Lane	New York, N. Y.
Jesse Taylor	Buffalo, N. Y.

South Atlantic

Senora B. Lawson	Richmond, Va.
Sam Harper	Jacksonville, Fla.
A. L. Thomas	Macon, Ga.

Southern

David M. Grant	St. Louis, Mo.
Mrs. D. D. Phillips	Nashville, Tenn.
E. Vincent Suitt	Kansas City, Mo.

Midwestern

Charles W. Burton	Chicago, Ill.
Bennie Smith	Detroit, Mich.
Theodore E. Brown	Chicago, Ill.

Pacific

C. L. Dellums	Oakland, Cal.
Armena Davis	Los Angeles, Cal.
Rev. Liggins	Denver, Colo.

Members-at-Large

Dr. L. M. Ervin	New York City
Leyton Weston	St. Louis, Mo.
James E. Burns	Meridan, Miss.

Hold Release

[redacted]

[redacted]

RANDOLPH HEARS PROPOSED OVER-ALL GOVERNMENT COMMITTEE

TO HANDLE NEGRO AFFAIRS

[redacted]

According to a news report in P.M. of July 20, plans are under wayto set up, under the chairmanship of Father Hans, and over-all Government Bureau to handle all Negro affairs. Attorney Francis Biddle of the Department of Justice is said to be one of the guiding forces in shaping this scheme.

At the Mid-west headquarters of the March on Washington Movement, A. Philip Randolph, National Director, unmeprcedingly condemned this Over-All Government Bureau for Negroes as a great Jim-Crow Government Monopoly of the Negro problemand warned it as dangerous, disastrous and backward, which is designed to reduce the Negro to the status of wards of the Nation, comparable to that of the Indians. He calls upon Negro leaders and the general public to send telegrams, letters and make telephone calls to the White House, the Department of Justice and to Father Hans, condemning this plans as outrage upon and an insult to thirteen million Negroes of America, thousands of whom are giving their all in this war to save democracy

PRESS RELEASE

6

air & dated Aug 9

National Headquarters
MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York, N. Y.

RANDOLPH OPPOSES PROPOSED POLICY TO ELIMINATE MIGRATION LAWS

New York City

August 12, 1943

Honorable Francis Biddle
U. S. Attorney General
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

I note in the New York Post of August 9th, a news item which states that you are recommending to the White House that the Government limit and possibly prohibit further migration of Negroes to overcrowded War Production centers. You can readily see how this will be interpreted in relation to the Negro. It will be used to limit the employment opportunities of Negroes in their efforts to secure work in war plants. Moreover, as I see it, it is a violation of the Constitution, because it limits the freedom of movement of American citizens. Instead of preventing race riots, it will help constitute a fuse which may touch off the social, economic, racial, political magazine of dynamite which is the result of a long series of injustices and abuse and discrimination and segregation to which the Negro people have been subjected.

As one who is interested in racial peace and the victory of the United Nations over the Nazi theories of racialism and tyranny, I want to urge you to rescind this order, if it has been made, in the interest of racial cooperation and harmony. This proposed policy is the grossest kind of segregation and discrimination. What about the poor whites that are flowing from the rural districts of the South into the War Production centers? Nothing is suggested about limiting their migration, but they are the main carriers of the germ of racial hatred and are certain to create trouble unless the causes of race riots are fearlessly and constructively dealt with. These causes are segregation in the armed forces, defense plants and government departments as well as on various means of transportation, housing, recreation, law enforcement, etc.

I am sure that upon a careful examination of the national situation in regard to race relations, you will see the fallacy of this proposed policy. It is not the increase of the Negro population in War Production centers that causes race riots, but it is the fact that Negroes have never gotten a fair break, and just and reasonable opportunities in any phase of American life, that is at the bottom of these conflicts. One of the most fundamental and immediate remedies for these social explosions at the present time would be for the President to issue a national proclamation abolishing segregation in the armed forces. Nothing would be more effective than this.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph
National Director

APR:ha

PRESS RELEASE

National Headquarters
MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York, N. Y.

New York City, August 19, 1943

We who happen to be members of the so-called white race deplore the current misinterpretation in some quarters of the recent action of the March on Washington Movement in its national conference in Chicago in continuing to limit its membership to Negroes. We are convinced on the basis of the following facts that this does not indicate, as some critics of the movement have alleged, that its standpoint is one of a narrow black nationalism.

There were many whites who found it enlightening and spiritually enriching to attend the mass meetings throughout the five days of the conference. Many of the speeches were forceful, but there was not one bitter, anti-white note. A few of us were in the business sessions as visitors or reporters. All of these sessions were covered by a battery of Negro and white representatives of the press. One of our number, J. Holmes Smith, was a resource member of the National Advisory Committee of the Movement on Non-violent Direct Action, working with it in its several sessions in Washington before the conference and speaking on "A White Christian Looks at Jim Crow" at one of the meetings in Chicago. He sat in on the long debate on the question of Negro membership and reports that, in view of the attitude of the delegates, there was no moral issue involved. It was with them a question of function and tactics. Chauvinism was definitely denounced. It was stressed that co-operation with whites who desire sincerely to participate in the struggle for racial justice is deeply desired, as necessary to success against such formidable odds. Again, not one anti-white note was uttered.

While the movement is not anti-white, it is definitely anti-Red. Communism was specifically denounced. A clear distinction was made between the Russian people in their heroic struggle and Communist tactics in America. It was clear that the March On Washington Movememt feels that in its choice of allies for the long struggle ahead it cannot afford to depend upon what the political climate happens to be in Moscow.

Some of us who have had contacts with the Indian people in their epic struggle are inclined to agree with the leaders of this movement

among another suppressed people in their conviction that at this stage of their development they need to assert a kind of sturdy independence in certain areas in order to prove to themselves and others thaty they are competent to handle their affairs without white leadership.

Dr. E. Stanley Jones, famous missionary to India and internationalist, was a principal speaker in the great mass meeting which climaxed the convention, traveling all the way from the west coast and back again for that one engagement, because he was convinced that it provided a congenial and fruitful soil for his message on interracial brotherhood and on the achievement of racial justice by non-violent means.

Another reason for the exercise of great care in the matter of membership at this particular time stems from the unanimous adoption by the conference of non-violent good will direct action as a major method of the movement. This makes it of the greatest importance that the membership be confined to those who feel deeply enough the weight of race-discrimination to be willing to engage in forthright action, but who are at the same time sincerely committed to the use of non-violent methods. The fact that the conference without a dissenting voice made the historic decision to pitch its battle on so high a plane should commend the movement to people of dynamic goodwill. We urge our fellow whites to accept the invitation of the March On Washington Movement to rally to its side in a spirit of comradeship and to collaborate in training for participation in well planned campaigns which will be launched as the time is ripe in various localities during the months ahead.

Some of us, while we did not attend the conference, wish to associate ourselves with those who were there by expressing confidence in the reliability of this report and in the goodwill of the March on Washington Movement

Norman Thomas
Roger Baldwin
A. J. Muste
Morris Milgram
Bernice Fisher
James Robinson
Bess B. Jackson
Catharine Raymond
Sidney Aberman
J. Holmes Smith
Lillian E. Smith
Jane Douglas
Sylvia Barger
Holmer Jack
E. Stanley Jones

PRESS RELEASE

MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
Hotel Theresa Building
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York, N. Y.

NEGROES SHOULD MAKE NATION-WIDE DEMAND FOR PASSAGE OF PERMANENT FEPC BILL BEFORE ELECTION

New York, N. Y., September 1, 1944

From developments with respect to the Scanlon-Dawson-LaFollette Bill for a permanent FEPC in the House Labor Committee, and the Wagner-Downey-Capper-Langer-Chavez Bill in the Senate, it is apparent that there is no intention on the part of either the Democrats or Republicans to act in good faith from the point of view of enacting the Fair Employment Practice law before election. In fact, it is clear that this vital and important measure which represents bread and butter to the minorities, including Negroes, Jews, Catholics, Mexicans, Filipinos, Japanese-Americans etc, is being subjected to a disgraceful form of power-politics. The Administration will not take a positive stand for the passing of the Bill because it fears the "wildmen" of the South. The Republicans will not move definitely in the interest of passing the permanent FEPC before election because they are courting the "white supremacy bloc" in the Senate and House with a view to using it to stop important labor legislation. The Negro people and other minorities are caught in the middle of this sinister power politics game.

What can be done about it? It is the question that people are asking everywhere. The answer is clear. If the Negroes, from coast to coast, start a blitz of propaganda through telegrams, handwritten letters, post-cards and telephone calls to the White House and to the Republican and Democratic Senators of their State, immediate action on the permanent FEPC will be forthcoming. Politicians in most of the high places in our Government have no ideals and respect nothing but power. The Negro possesses the power if he will use it. In ten or twelve states the balance of power lies in the hands of the Negroes and they can determine the trend of the election. Let them start a blast upon the White House and Congress on the passing of the Bill to make the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice permanent & we will get it, states A. Philip Randolph, National Director, March On Washington Movement.

PRESS RELEASE

National Headquarters
MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York, N. Y.

RANDOLPH SAYS PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT SHOULD ISSUE NATIONAL PROCLAMATION TO ABOLISH SEGREGATION IN ARMED FORCES

New York, N. Y., September 8th 1943

In the headquarters of the March On Washington Movement in the Theresa Hotel Building, A. Philip Randolph, National Director stated that the fight for the abolition of segregation in the Armed Forces has become the central and dominating issue in the life of the Negro people in America today. In view of the world struggle against the Axis tyranny of Germany, Japan, and Italy for the salvation of democracy and freedom, there can be no compromise on the question of the fight to destroy the spirit of Fascism and Naziism in America whose ugly and forbidding and dangerous manifestation is jim-crow in the Armed Forces, those very forces that are to serve as the weapon to strike down world Fascism said Mr. Randolph.

He continued that there is ample and good precedent for President Roosevelt to act in the issuance of a national proclamation for the abolition of segregation in the Armed Forces during this war. Abraham Lincoln struck down salvery through a national proclamation while the Civil War was on. There is no greater crisis to the nation now than it was then. If President Lincoln found it necessary to save democracy and the Union by taking this action, the MOWM believes that President Roosevelt must be caused to see that similarly today the stakes involved are freedom and democracy and they cannot be saved by an Army and nation partly jim-crow and partly free. MOWM, states Mr. Randolph, will make as its predominant, most vital issue the abolition of jim-crow in the Armed Forces and it will carry this gospel from one state to the other and call upon the people high and low, rich and poor, to lend their aid in this great crusade for American Armed Forces that are free of the poisons of Nazi racialisms.

PRESS RELEASE

National Headquarters
MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York, N. Y.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO MAKE FEPC PERMANENT ESTABLISHED

New York City, September 23, 1943

Out of the conference on FEPC which was held in Washington, September 13-15th in the 12th Street branch of the Y. M. C. A., a National Committee was set up to make the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice a permanent government agency in the post-war period. Plans were mapped out to establish headquarters with two full time secretaries in Washington, states Mr. A. Philip Randolph, Chairman of the Conference.

Efforts will be made to get the cooperation of Negro and white organizations back of the fight of this Committee to get a bill passed by Congress giving legislative sanction to FEPC.

PRESS RELEASE

National Headquarters
MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York, N. Y.

MOWM PUSHED FIGHT FOR WINFRED LYNN AND JEWISH SERGEANT AL LEVY

New York City, September 24, 1943

Because the case of Winfred Lynn involves the violation, by his induction into the armed forces, of section 4A of the Selective Service Act, which provides that there shall be no discrimination in the induction and training of draftees, and because Sgt. Alton Levy was court marshalled and demoted to the status of a Private, August 15, and given four months sentence of hard labor because he championed the cause of Negro soldiers who were being discriminated against by white officiers, plans are being worked out for the purpose of holding demonstrations to mobilize public sentiment back of these Negro and Jewish lads in the interest of seeing to it that they get justice and that jim-crow and anti-semitism are wiped out of the armed forces.

MOWM

PRESS RELEASE

National Headquarters
MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York, New York

New York City, October 22, 1943

MOWM CALLS FOR FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE OF AFRICA

Mussolini has disappeared, but fascism under Bagdolio and the House of Savoy remains, and despite the surrender of Italy to the United Nations, the people of the world could not be deceived as to the imperialistic designs of the present Italian political setup.

Every Negro and lover of liberty throughout the world should demand that:

1. The territories which formerly composed the Italian-African Empire, be not returned to Italy.
2. That these territories be not transferred to any other imperialistic power,
3. That the principle of self-determination be applied to these territories,
4. That complete independence be restored to Ethiopia.

These should be the minimum demands of the peoples of color and the civilized Christian peoples of the world, states A. Philip Randolph, National Director of the March On Washington Movement, at the National Headquarters of the March On Washington Movement, in the Theresa Hotel Building in New York City.

PRESS RELEASE

National Headquarters
MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York, N. Y.

RANDOLPH SAYS NEGRO SHOULD FIGHT POLL TAX FILIBUSTER

Chicago, Illinois, November 18, 1943

Negroes should fight the Poll Tax Filibuster by the die-hard, tory, Southern Senators by flooding the Senators of the North and West with telegrams, telephone calls, cards and letters, urging them to vote for cloture rule to end filibuster so democracy may function, stated A. Philip Randolph, at the Mid-western headquarters of the March On Washington Movement at 4306 South Parkway in Chicago.

PRESS RELEASE

National Headquarters
MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York, N. Y.

MOWM HAILS FINDINGS OF FEPC

New York City, December 2, 1943

The March On Washington Movement which is recognized by friend and foe as the father and mother of FEPC, through its National Director, A. Philip Randolph, at its headquarters in the Theresa Hotel Building in New York City, expressed great appreciation and acclaim for the Findings of the President's Committee on FEPC issued December 1st concerning discriminations in the railroad industry.

MOWM feels highly elated over this signal and epoch-making victory for the Negro people since Executive Order 8802 under which FEPC was established was won as a result of the mass pressure of the MOWM which coordinated various national Negro organizations, civic, religious, political, educational, labor etc. behind the fight for jobs and justice around the beginning of the National Defense Program. Negro firemen in the South are sending the March On Washington Movement many letters expressing their gratitude for the fight MOWM made in their behalf.

PRESS RELEASE

National Headquarters
MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York, 27, N. Y.

MOWM CALLS ON BASEBALL JUDGE LANDIS FOR OPPORTUNITY FOR NEGRO PLAYERS

New York City, December 2, 1943

At the meeting of the New York Unit of the MOWM in the YMCA, December 1st, a resolution was unanimously adopted to send a delegation of the MOWM to call upon Judge Kennesaw Mountain Landis, dictator of baseball in America, at Hotel Commodore where the annual conferences of the American and National Leagues are being held, for a hearing to present the case for the employment of Negro baseball players by the big and minor leagues. This delegation was headed by Miss Layle Lane, Chairman of the Program Committee.

National Headquarters
MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York, New York

NEGROES MUST FIGHT SOUTHERN RAILROADS' DEFIANCE OF FEPC, SAYS MOWM

New York City, December 16, 1943

True to form, the Southern Bourbons that run the railroads in the South, alarmed at the fact that Negroes are taking the professions of the United Nations about democracy and freedom, seriously, have hurled defiance to the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice for its issuance of directives to sixteen Southern carriers, ordering that the age-old practices of racial discrimination against Negro workers be stopped. Hiding bedhind the smoke screens that the directives of FEPC are unrealistic and impractical, and conjuring up horrifying hobgoblins of racial disaster in the South if just employment opportunities are awarded Negroes in the railroad industry, the Southern railroad managements have denounced the President's Executive Order 8802 as a scrap of paper, expressing their flat refusal to obey it.

This is a sharp challenge to the Negro, liberal and minority groups of the Country. It is a mortal thrust at the heart of American democracy. Certainly, it will give cause for Hitler and Tojo to shout "hypocrisy" to American democracy, but Negroes, Catholics, Jews and other minority groups will not let this challenge go unanswered. From every housetop, pulpit, and street corner, the voice of the people must ring down these charges, demanding that President Roosevelt meet this challenge with forthright action, ordering these railroads to obey the directives of FEPC. The fight to save and make an effective FEPC, is a vital part of the fight to help win the war and the peace, stated A. Philip Randolph, National Director of the March On Washington Movement.

PRESS RELEASE

National Headquarters
MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York, N. Y.

COMFERENCE TO SUPPORT DIRECTIVES OF FEPC PLANNED

New York, N. Y. January 6, 1944

The National Council for a Permanent FEPC, of which Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers of the Broadway Tabernacle in New York City and A. Philip Randolph, National Director of the March On Washington Movement are Co-Chairmen, has called a conference national in scope to be held in Washington, D. C. at the 12th Street Branch of the YMCA, January 20th and 21st. The purpose of this conference is to discuss the problems that confront FEPC and the crisis which developed upon the defiance of the directives of this Committee concerning the elimination of racial discrimination in the railroad industry, by the 16 southern railroads and the 7 railway labor unions. Strategy will be discussed in the interest of getting the President to order compliance on the part of the railway carriers and unions with the directives of his Committee. Committees out of the conference will be formed for the purpose of waiting on senators and congressmen to secure their support and cooperation to back the directives of FEPC and also to secure the enactment of federal legislation to make the Committee permanent.

The conference will begin at 2 p.m. January 20th and on that evening in the New Bethel Baptist Church a public mass meeting on FEPC will be held with the following speakers:

Monsignor John A. Ryan, Director National Catholic Welfare Conference
Senator William Langer, Representative of North Dakota
Rev. William H. Jernagin, Pres., Fraternal Council of Negro Churches in Am.
Sydney Hollander, President, Jewish Coordinating Agencies
A. Philip Randolph, Co-Chairman, National Council for a Permanent FEPC

PRESS RELEASE

National Headquarters
MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York, N. Y.

RANDOLPH SPEAKS AT BOSTON FIRST METHODIST CHURCH FORUM

New York, N. Y., January 6, 1944

At the First Methodist Church Forum in Boston, Massachusetts, A. Philip Randolph called for interracial and interfaith cooperation for the purpose of abolishing discrimination and segregation in the armed forces and the making of FEPC a permanent postwar agency. Extensive and enthusiastic discussion followed the address.

PRESS RELEASE

National Headquarters
MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York, N. Y.

MOVM PLANS A NATIONAL NEGRO NON-PARTISAN POLITICAL CONFERENCE

New York, N. Y., January 7, 1944

At the national headquarters of the March On Washington Movement, it was announced by A. Philip Randolph, National Director, that the March On Washington Movement is considering plans for the holding of a National Negro Non-Partisan Political Conference for the purpose of discussing problems and strategy of, and for the Negro in the coming Presidential campaign.

Because the year 1944 will mark a crucial and decisive political period for the Negro people and all minority groups, the March On Washington Movement views the necessity for the development of a great mass demonstration around the hopes and aims and aspirations of the Negro people in America during the war and the postwar period as being vital, fundamental and imperative. This conference according to Mr. Randolph will have as one of its leading tasks the business of getting the Negro masses to participate in the formation of decisions and the development of action on programs that have been outlined and that will be mapped out for the enlightenment and guidance of the Negro during these times.

The date and time of the conference will be announced in the future and a Call will be issued for organizational as well as rank and file participation in the proceedings.

PRESS RELEASE

National Headquarters
March On Washington Movement
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York, N. Y.

NATIONAL SERVICE ACT BAD FOR NEGROES SAYS RANDOLPH

New York, N. Y., January 19, 1944

The proposal by President Roosevelt in his recent message to Congress for the enactment of a National Service Act will be definitely harmful to the Negro people stated A. Philip Randolph, National Director of the March On Washington Movement at its headquarters in the Theresa Hotel building in New York. He continued that such a measure will freeze Negro workers in low paid, unskilled jobs and prevent their upgrading on a basis of ability as well as confine them to low wage brackets of employment.

PRESS RELEASE

National Headquarters
MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York, N. Y.

SOUTHERN BLOC ATTACKS FEPC

Jacksonville, Fla., March 14, 1944

Senators Rankin of Mississippi, Russell of Georgia and Howard W. Smith of Virginia, all poll-tax states, are leading the southern bloc, seeking to cut the throat of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice, by raising the smoke-screen of social equality, declared the March On Washington Movement, at the headquarters of the Jacksonville Unit.

With the unity of the Negro and the cooperation of the Catholics and Jewish organizations, the deadly propaganda poison of Southernism, preached by the prophets of copperhead confederacy, can be overcome, said the leader of MOWM, A. Philip Randolph.

PRESS RELEASE

Nation Headquarters
MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York, 27, N. Y.

MASS DEMONSTRATION AGAINST POLL TAX FILIBUSTER

New York, N. Y., April 9, 1944

At the National headquarters of the March On Washington Movement, in New York, N. Y., it was announced that some mass demonstration in the form of a picket line should be developed when the Poll Tax Filibuster on a 1000 Amendments begins, to show and make the Southern Klu Klux Fascists understand that Negroes are determined to wipe out the poll tax slavery and outrage.

The Poll Tax Filibuster can and must be beaten, but only by unremitting, non-violent mass protests by the Negro, labor and all lovers of democracy.

PRESS RELEASE

National Headquarters
MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York, 27, N. Y.

NEGROES SHOULD RESENT ATTACK UPON EDGAR BROWN

New York, N. Y., April 9, 1944

The brutal attack upon Edgar Brown, head of the National Negro Council and nationally known lobbyist, by a Texas guard in the Capitol building in Washington, D. C. should be resented by Negroes everywhere, by sending telegrams and letters and making telephone calls to their senators and congressmen to publicly condemn this outrageous action on the floor of the Senate and House, and demand the immediate dismissal of the guard, said A. Philip Randolph at the National Headquarters of the March On Washington Movement in the Hotel Theresa Building in New York City.

PRESS RELEASE

National Headquarters
MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York, 27, N. Y.

OUTLOOK FOR NON-PARTISAN POLITICAL CONFERENCE POLICY

New York, N. Y., April 28, 1944

At the National headquarters of the March On Washington Movement in the Theresa Hotel Building, in New York, A. Philip Randolph, National Director stated that the March On Washington Movement was calling a National Non-Partisan Political Conference for Negroes which would take place in Chicago, June 25 and 26th. He stated that the purpose of this conference is to develop a program of demands for the Negro people for presentation to the Republican and Democratic Conventions and to work out plans to carry on a nation-wide campaign of education and agitation to awaken the Negro people to the consciousness of their political power and indicate to white America that in this coming presidential election Negroes intend to make every vote count in terms of jobs and justice.

Delegates are expected to come from far and near to attend the conference.

PRESS RELEASE

National Headquarters
MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York 27, N. Y.

RANDOLPH PROTESTS MAYOR LAGUARDIA BAN OF JAPANESE AMERICANS

New York, N. Y., April 29, 1944

Press Reports of Mayor Fiorella H. LaGuardia's banning the coming of Japanese American citizens to New York, N. Y., met with a vigorous protest from A. Philip Randolph, National Director of the March On Washington Movement. Mr. Randolph said the action of the Mayor was indefensible and played into the hands of Axis slavery. He said while there is so much lip-service being given to democracy now, how can the Mayor reconcile the banning of Japanese Americans while he says nothing about Nazi German and Italian Fascist agents running wild in New York City. Surely it is not because the Japanese are colored, Mr. Randolph concluded.

PRESS RELEASE

National Headquarters
MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York, New York

RANDOLPH SAYS PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT SHOULD ISSUE NATIONAL PROCLAMATION TO ABOLISH SEGREGATION AND DISCRIMINATION IN THE ARMED FORCES

New York City, July 14, 1944

It was learned at the National Headquarters of the March On Washington Movement at the Hotel Theresa Building in New York, from A. Philip Randolph, National Director, that the March On Washington Movement is beginning a nation-wide campaign to get individuals and organizations to write telegrams and letters to President Roosevelt urging him to issue a National Proclamation. abolishing segregation and discrimination in the armed forces, as an indication of the right of the United States of America to claim the moral leadership of the democratic forces of the world.

Mr. Randolph stated that the Negro people are entitled to this, and unless discrimination and segregation are abolished in the armed forces, the peoples of color will be constrained to believe that they are not to be considered in the making of the peace as part of the people of mankind who are to enjoy freedom and democracy, for which black and white boys are dying on battlefields all over the world. He concluded that President Roosevelt has this power and that it will be the greatest act of democracy in America since Abraham Lincoln issued the Proclamation of Emancipation

PRESS RELEASE

MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
Hotel Theresa Building
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York 27, N. Y.

MOWM DEMANDS NON-RACIAL DISCRIMINATORY CLAUSE IN RECONVERSION BILL

New York, N. Y., August 10, 1944

It was announced at the National Headquarters in the Hotel Theresa Building in New York City that wires and letters have been sent by the March On Washington Movement to the Senators Kilgore and Murray and President Roosevelt urging that Amendments to the Reconversion Bill now being debated in the Senate be included, that will prevent any discrimination on account of race, color, religion or national origin in the administration of the various functions of the measure.

MOWM states that there is no such provision in the Bill at present, and while the benefits of the Bill are extended to most all of the possessions of the United States, the Virgin Islands are excluded and an Amendment is called for, which will include the Virgin Islands. Organizations and individuals are requested to send telegrams to the President and the Military Affairs Committee of the Senate urging that Amendments prohibiting the aforementioned discrimination be adopted in the Bill.

PRESS RELEASE

MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
Hotel Theresa Building
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York 27, N. Y.

MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT URGES HEARINGS FOR FEPC

New York, N. Y., August 10, 1944

Hearings on the Bill in the Senate for a permanent President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice sponsored by Senators Chavez, Wagner, Downey, Capper, and Langer were urged upon President Roosevelt and the Military Affairs Committee of the Senate by leaders of the March On Washington Movement. The MOWM contends that the permanent FEPC legislation must have hearings during the summer and also be passed before the election.

PRESS RELEASE

National Headquarters
MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York 27, N. Y.

FIGHT AGAINST JIM CROW IN THE METROPOLITAN INSURANCE COMPANY CONTINUES

New York, N. Y., October 13, 1944

At the headquarters of the March On Washington Movement in the Theresa Hotel Building, New York, A. Philip Randolph declared that the fight to abolish racial barriers against the integration of Negroes into all categories of the business of the Metropolitan holds fast and will soon expand to other sections of the city.

This fight against the Metropolitan Insurance Company for the right of Negroes to be employed as agents and in the office forces and also in supervisory positions is a part of the post war planning program of the Negro people, observed Mr. Randolph. It is necessary to begin now to attack the barriers against the equality of employment for the Negro since the post war world bids fair to be one of keen rivalry for jobs among different groups of workers.

PRESS RELEASE

National Headquarters
MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Ave.
New York 27, New York

MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT GIRDS FOR FIGHT

New York, New York, December 8, 1945

The March On Washington Movement which served as the spearhead and coordinating organization back of the fight for Executive Order 8802 and the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice in the early days of the National Defense Program, is, according to A. Philip Randolph, National Director, at the headquarters in New York City, girding and mobilizing its forces to do battle for the passage of Bills S. 101 and H.R. 2232. The various MOWM units throughout the country are extremely busy developing their forces to give all the aid to the magnificent fight which is being waged by the National Council for a Permanent FEPC, to put through the abovementioned Bills. The role of the March will be particularly effective and significant if the forces of opposition compel the necessity and employment of drastic demonstrations for this measure, said Mr. Randolph.

PRESS RELEASE

National Headquarters
MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York, New York

New York, New York, December 21, 1944

MOWM URGES PASSAGE OF FREEDOM FROM WANT AND FEAR BILL

Senator James E. Murray of Montana has introduced a Bill for Full Employment, which may be styled as a Freedom From Want and Fear measure. It announces a far-reaching, fundamental and basic national policy for our government, in that it states in Section 2, Paragraph A

"Every American, able to work and willing to work, has the right to a useful and remunerative job in the industries or shops or offices or farms or mines of the nation;

(B) It is the responsibility of the government to guarantee that right by assuring continuing full employment;

(C) It is the policy of the government to assure continuing full employment by

(1) Encouraging to the fullest extent jobs, Federal investment, and other expenditures of highest feasible levels of employment by private enterprise,

(2) Providing for whatever volume of Federal investment and other expenditure that may be needed to assure continuing full employment.

Unquestionably, such a measure as this will be greatly needed when the shooting on the Western Front and in the South Pacific ends. The workers, like the soldiers, need legislative safeguards to insure their right to employment despite the dislocation of industry, incident to a period of reconversion, as well as an industrial depression.

This measure will be of immeasurable significance and benefit to the Negro workers, who always get better consideration for jobs when there are relatively jobs for all, said A. Philip Randolph, National Director of the March On Washington Movement.

But, it is necessary that a provision be included in this Bill to the effect that there shall be no discrimination in the allocation of jobs or the up-grading of employees, or the opportunity for securing training to advance in higher brackets of pay, because of race, color, religion, nationality or ancestry. The March On Washington Movement calls upon the Negro people, fraternal, social, trade unions, civic groups, fraternities and sororities, to write Senator James E. Murray of Montana and Senator Chapman Revercomb of West Virginia, to include the aforementioned provision for protection against fascistic racial discrimination, concluded Mr. Randolph.

PRESS RELEASE

MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
Hotel Theresa Building
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York 27, N. Y.

RANDOLPH SAYS NEGROES MUST WATCH THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

New York, N. Y., December 29th, 1944

According to Walter Winchell, Tom Clark, Assistant Attorney General from "poll tax Texas" is likely to succeed Francis Biddle, Attorney General. "If this should happen it would be nothing short of a calamity to the Negro in particular, and civil liberties for minorities and labor in general. There is not a single instance on record where he has vigorously prosecuted the violation of the civil rights of Negroes.

In the Memphis, Tennessee Free Speech case when the meeting was called off by notorious Boss Crump at which the writer was to speak, despite many protests against this outrageous facist action to the Department of Justice, this same Tom Clark colosed the case indicating in substance that there was no evidence that the right of free speech had been denied anyone.

As a matter of fact Francis Biddle himself has not done all that he could have to make the Civil Liberties Section under Victor Rotnem effective for the protection of the rights of minority American citizens," sates A. Philip Randolph, National Director, March On Washington Movement.

PRESS RELEASE

MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
Hotel Theresa Building
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York, 27, N. Y.

MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT PROTESTS POST OFFICE BAN ON FEPC STAMPS

New York, N. Y., December 29, 1944

A letter of protest was filed with the U. S. Post Office Department by A. Philip Randolph, National Director of the March On Washington Movement against its ban om MOWM FEPC stamps. In letter to U. S. Post Office Department Randolph states that, "This ban is obviously a species of discrimination against the fight for fair employment opportunities regardless of race, color, religion and national origin and constitutes a curb upon the right of freedom of press. Just so long as material sent through the Post Office is not definitely obscene and does not tend to provoke overt subversive action, there is no justification for denying the use of the mails to MOWM stamps that are merely proclaiming the right of fair employment practices for minority groups. To prohibit the use of the mails to these stamps on the grounds that they are controversial is a bit of high-handed, undemocratic censorship since who is to say what is controversial. Moreover, if all controversial material was prohibited from going through the mails practically all the movements for freedom and democratic rights would not be able to communicate their message to the people. In fact, practically every Bill that is presented to the Congress would be denied the use of the mails upon these same grounds because they are controversial. This is evident by the bitter debate on the floor on Bills in the House and Senate," concluded Mr. Randolph.

PRESS RELEASE

National Headquarters
MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York 27, N. Y.

MOWM CONDEMNS WORK OR FIGHT LEGISLATION

Columbus, Ohio, January 26, 1945

While in Columbus, Ohio, visiting the local division of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, A. Philip Randolph, National Director of MOWM, stated the "draft labor" program was a dangerous step in the direction of the Nazi "forced labor" policy and was a blow at the heart of the trade union movement. He also pointed out that a National Service Act should be opposed by Negroes because it would "freeze" jim-crow in industry and give racial segregation government sanction.

PRESS RELEASE

MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
Hotel Theresa Building
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York 27, New York

MOWM PLANS NATION-WIDE CAMPAIGN AGAINST DISCRIMINATION IN THE ARMED FORCES

New York, New York, January 5, 1945

At the National Headquarters of the MOWM, it was announced by A. Philip Randolph, National Director, that a nation-wide campaign was now being planned to mobilize public sentiment against discrimination and segregation in the armed forces.

"The object of this fight, observed Mr. Randolph, is to get President Roosevelt to see the importance of the cause of democracy, which the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms proclaim, to issue a national proclamation abolishing discrimination and segregation in the armed forces, wherever the United States flag waves. This campaign will be developed through a series of hugh mass meetings in strategic centers throughout the country."

PRESS RELEASE

MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
Hotel Theresa Building
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York 27, New York

RANDOLPH SAYS NEGROES SHOULD GET MORE JOBS IN FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

New York, N. Y., January 5, 1945

"Since it is generally recognized and conceded that from 70 to 80% of the Negroes voted for the reelection of President Roosevelt for a fourth term, the Negro high-command in the Democratic Party should have a thorough analysis made of every department of the Federal Government, with a view to making recommendations to the President and to the heads of those departments in the interest of Negroes being placed in them.

"There are many departments of the Government in which there isn't a single Negro. It is interesting to know that the State Department alone, over which Edward R. Stettinius presides, there are 78 different sub-departments, excluding Mr. Stettinius' office. All of these sub-departments have important heads and a complete roster of workers running the gamut of high specialists to routine office workers. What is true of the State Department is true of every other single department of the Government. Not only should young Negro men and women be in these departments as a result of Civil Service Examinations, but also as appointees of the heads.

Southern Congressmen are working overtime night and day to swamp these departments with Southern young white men and women. They succeed because they know the structure of the departments, the number of jobs involved and the nature of the jobs. Negro leaders must secure this same information and then proceed to bring the necessary continuous pressure in order to get Negroes placed in these various areas in the Federal Government," observed Mr. Randolph.

PRESS RELEASE

MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York 27, N.Y.

PUBLIC DEMANDS ABOLITION OF PERSECUTION OF CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS

New York, N. Y., January 7, 1946

It is a notorious and outrageous condition that today five prisoners, who are conscientious objectors, have been in solitary confinement for thirty weeks because they have protested jim-crow in the dining hall of the prison. Fourteen inmates, twelve of them conscientious objectors, one of them an American of Japanese extraction, three of them Negroes, announced they did not want to eat in the prison's segregated mess hall and requested that a separate place be set aside in the institution where men of all races who are so disposed can eat together. For this act they are being brutally persecuted. The remedy for this lies in public protest to the Department of Justice and the War Department demanding that this intolerable violation of democratic rights cease immediately stated A. Philip Randolph, National Director of the March On Washington Movement.

TENTATIVE PROGRAM

NON-PARTISAN POLITICAL CONFERENCE
June 25, 26

June 25 3 P.M. Sunday Public Mass Meeting
Theme: Achievement of First Class Citizenship
Now - Dr. Ervin - Representatives from Democratic,.
Republican, Socialist and Farmer Labor Party.

8 P. M. Discrimination in the Armed Forces
Chairman, Colden Brown
Wilfred Kerr, Chairman of Lynn Committee
A discharged soldier...another speaker discussion...
plan of action.

June 26 9:30 A.M. Monday Registration
National Anthem
Invocation
Key Note address...A. Philip Randolph
Panel...Enforcement of the 14th and 15th Amendments
Lawyer Dodson, Chairman
Dean Ransom, Howard Law School
David Grant...Earl Dickerson
Appointment of Committees
Adjournment

2:30 P.M. Panel...A Permanent FEPC, Charles Houston
or Ann Arnold Hedgeman, Chairman
M. P. Webster....T. D. McNeal...Eugene Davidson

4 P.M. Political Strategy
Finley Wilson...Herbert Bruce...Layle Lane...Ralph unche
Adjournment

8 P. M. The Negro and a Just Peace
An eminent churchmen...college professor...a labor
person.

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Now M Press Release

News Release

PHILIP RANDOLPH WARMLY RECEIVED

AT BOSTON MASS MEETING

Calls for Real Unity: One Nation,

One Army, One Citizenship

By Peter Dana

Boston, Mass.--If Boston is the cradle of liberty, it was rocked significantly by the hand of A. Philip Randolph Sunday, March 28, who delivered a ringing challenge for renewal of the true American spirit of liberty and equality to an audience which packed the Old South Meeting House, Washington and Milk streets, at the closing session of the Institute on Race Relations and Non Violent Solutions, held under the joint auspices of the Fellowship of Reconcilation and the March on Washington Movement.

The great social documents of our history, said Mr. Randolph, the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, were formulated with no regard for the colored man, but a significant and, at times the significant, preoccupation of American life has been the problem of bringing within the scope and meaning of these great documents the Negro who, too, is America. Today, he went on, the Negro is again one of the chief preoccupations of American life. Indeed, he suggested that the Negro is, for some, a preoccupation not second to the winning of the war.

In view of the times and the issues of the day, he said, "the status of the American Negro is at a disturbing low mark." Negroes are determined to bring themselves within the scope and meaning of the great social documents of our history. "And we know that ordinary methods will avail us nothing; for we are living in a period of great acceleration which requires principled and imaginative understanding of the technics of struggle; and which require the employment of new tactics."

Here, Mr. Randolph, as if to answer those critics who have charged him with being visionary for advocating the non-violent, civil-disobedient ideas of Mohandas K. Gandhi on the part of Negroes

News Release Con't

in this country, pointed out that he was fully aware that the ideas and technics of the Gandhi movement were not to be applied to our situation without modifications suitable to our condition. It was the principle, the spirit, the discipline of the Gandhi technique and political philosophy he was advocating. We do not have to march to the sea for salt; nor weave cloth for our garments in protest against the impoverishment of the Indian people by absentee capital; nor fast to win political independence from a crushing imperialist power. The Indian followers of Gandhi did all this because the conditions of their life persuaded them to do all this. We are citizens of a common country; the common laws and the interpretation of these laws by our highest courts support our claims to a common, equal citizenship. The application of the principles of non-violence and civil-disobedience will therefore take into account the particularity of our situation. But the principles are no less valid; the promise of victory no less sure. In those sections of the country where the local laws are clearly in support of a single citizenship, the application of these principles is simple: we need only affirmatively act under these laws; in other areas, we need take the negative approach, and refuse to accept second-class accommodations--to ride in Jim Crow street cars and buses, to attend Jim Crow theatres, to protest Jim Crow schools by organized, periodic absence.

What is important in all this, he continued, is to realize that "the very spectacle of so sincere and organized a protest is a victorious force; for it gives not only a feeling of confidence and strength to the protestants but gains also, within Constitutional limits, a hearing and consideration of the Constitutional rights and privileges of a tenth of the nation."

Mr. Randolph was cheered long and lustily when he called for a united nation, an undicriminated army and a single citizenship; and insisted that an army that permits it officers to refer to colored men in arms as "niggers" was hardly more than a rabble.

News Release con't

Energy spent in writing booklets trying to explain the basis of the American attitude toward Negroes to the English people "had best be spent in correcting this attitude at home."

Meanwhile, headquarters of the March on Washington Movement with offices in the Hotel Therema building, New York City, have announced a series of mass meetings throughout the country--in New York, St. Louis, Chicago and other metropolitan areas.

(30)

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

SUBJECT FILE

March On Washington Movement
Principles And Structure

1941-44
&
Undated

[May 1941]

PROPOSALS OF THE NEGRO MARCH-ON-WASHINGTON COMMITTEE TO PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT FOR URGENT CONSIDERATION

POINT 1. An executive order forbidding the awarding of contracts to any concern, Navy Yard or Army Arsenal which refuses employment to qualified persons on account of race, creed or color. In the event that such discrimination continues to exist, the Government shall take over the plant for continuous operation, by virtue of the authority vested in the President of the United States, as Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces and as expressed in the Proclamation declaring a state of unlimited national emergency, May 27, 1941.

POINT 2. An executive order abolishing discrimination and segregation on account of race, creed or color in all departments of the Federal Government.

POINT 3. An executive order abolishing discrimination in vocational and defense training courses for workers in National Defense whether financed in whole or in part by the Federal Government.

POINT 4. An executive order abolishing discrimination in the Army, Navy, Marine, Air Corps, Medical Corps and all other branches of the armed services.

POINT 5. That the President ask the Congress to pass a law forbidding the benefits of the National Labor Relations Act to Labor Unions denying Negroes membership through Constitutional provisions, ritualistic practices or otherwise.

POINT 6. That the President issue instructions to the United States Employment Services that available workers be supplied in order of their registration without regard to race, creed or color.

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MOWM - Legal Documents.

August 3, 1942

7

PLAN OF NATIONAL ORGANIZATION - MARCH ON WASHINGTON

PERSONNEL

1. National Director - A. Philip Randolph - volunteer basis

2. National Organizer With Leadership Training Skills
   (a) To follow up on contacts made by national director;
   To work with natural community leaders
   (1) survey of community assets
   (2) survey of community problems
   (3) survey of resources available to meet problems
   (4) analysis of individuals available for leadership in the community.
   To plan leadership training institutes

   (b) Such an analysis outlined in 2(a) would indicate the role of the local March on Washington Committee in each community.

3. A national participating Board of Directors to whom the national Director and National Organizer would report. This Board to be a cross section of all types of people and interests. The Board of Directors should be expected to report to the membership of the organization.

   We are concerned here with the continual flow of ideas, policies, plans and dreams from leadership of all types to membership of all types and vice versa. All business of the March on Washington movement should be presented at local membership meetings. Our major emphasis should be on the development of a responsible and well-informed membership, and the decisions of the National Board of Directors should reflect the thinking of the total membership.

   The initial task of the National Board of Directors would be to discuss which phases of the 8-point program should receive national emphasis during this year, 1942.

   The personnel of the National Board of Directors should comprise people with key contacts in labor, church, Urban League, NAACP organizations, and each member should be assigned responsibility for mobilization of support from those groups and the gathering of information from those groups necessary to the entire movement. Agricultural workers, sharecroppers, and domestic workers should be represented and receive special attention.

4. National Executive Secretary

   (a) to work with national director and national organizer
   (b) To work with Board of Directors, (correspondence, publicity, program, agenda, etc.)

5. Stenographer for national office .

BUDGET/Finances, Salaries

Salaries --	National Director - volunteer(?) with expense account	
	National Executive -	$3,000 year and expenses
	National Organizer	3,500 " " "

~~National Executive Sec~~
Stenographer for National Office..... $1,400 year

Total salaries.....	$7,900.
Stationary	500.
Postage	1,000.
Telephone and telegraph	500.
Office space(national office pro rata)	450.
Literature(pamphlets and folders)	1,000.
Traveling Expenses	7,000.
Miscellaneous(supplies, clipping service, petty cash, etc.)	1,650
Total Minimum Budget	$20,000

NOTE ON BUDGET

Special campaigns could be run on pay-as-you-go basis. Legal expenses might be handled through NAACP through some workable arrangement.

B

Nevins 8-5471

White ~~Y. [illegible]~~ Mow.m.
G. A. Miller
R.F.D. #4
Stony Creek, W. Va

Theophilus Lewis
Cathedral 8-2700

Academy 4-5433

Recent experiments have proved that
some workable arrangement
based upon the length of time

MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
NEW YORK DIVISION
2084 Seventh Ave.
New York City

June 24, 1943

To Mr. James Farley and Members of the
National Democratic Committee

Dear Sirs:

We, the members of the March On Washington Movement, believe and know that right here in our own country is one of the great issue of the war....namely the relations between white Americans and their fellow citizens of the darker races. This moral issue must be solved justly now otherwise the American people will lose forever any claim to leadership in the fight for democracy. The war has unleashed our native forces of Fascism which are just as terrible in their prospect as any in Europe. Our ability to curb these forces will determine our right to speak with any conviction about the four freedoms.

The Democratic Party...the Party of Jefferson...for more than a hundred years has shared in the administration of our national government. Since 1932 it has been constantly in control and therefore must bear a major share of the responsibility for maintaining those customs, practices and laws which are a direct violation of the Constitution and which further have made second-class citizens of 13,000-000 Negroes as well as of Americans of other darker races.

The vicious disease of race prejudice with its most recent evidences in the riots of Los Angeles, Beaumont, and Detroit cannot be explained away as the work of Nazi agents, even tho these riots are giving the Axis plenty of ammunition for scoffing at our professions of idealism.

Race prejudice and discrimination unfortunately have been part and parcel of American thinking and practice. Unfortunately, too, long have been too long tolerated and even practiced by the national government.

Negroes are lynched, in direct violation of the 5th and 14th Amendments...which state "no person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law". The federal government does nothing to protect Negroes from lynch mobs.

Negroes are deprived of the right to vote in direct violation of the 14th amendment. A flagrant evidence of the unwarranted power this disfranchisement gives the South is shown by the following figures of 1940 census:

	Total Pop.	Citizens over 21	Voters	Rep. in House
S.C.	1,899,804	989,841	99,830	6
Wash.	1,736,191	1,123,725	793,833	6
Ark.	1,949,387	1,098,986	200,743	7
Conn.	1,709,242	1,011,658	781,502	5
Ga.	3,123,723	1,768,869	312,539	10
Wis.	3,137,587	1,941,603	1,405,522	10

The national government does nothing in this situation to enforce that provision of the 14th amendment which directly states the representation of any state will be cut down in the proportion that it discriminates.

Negroes are denied an equal share of federal money appropriated under the Smith Hughes and the George Deen Acts for vocational education.

The national government does nothing to see that its money is equitably spent.

Negroes are discriminated against in every aspect of life--in housing, transportation, health facilities, recreation, education and employment. This treatment has made the Negro bitter and determined that if Negroes have to serve in a Jim Crow army and risk their lives overseas for freedom, they are going to enjoy that freedom here. We wish to avoid race tension and conflict, but the major responsibility for avoiding conflict rests with those who refuse to change their thinking and practices in a period when great changes are taking place.

The Democratic Party cannot escape responsibility for these conditions; therefore the March On Washington Movement representing thousands of Negroes throughout the country wants specific answers to the following questions.

1. What will the Democratic Party and its representatives in Congress do to enforce that provision of the Constitution which reads..."no person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law"?

2. What will the Democratic Party and its representatives in Congress do to cut down the representation in Congress of those states which discriminate against Negroes in voting?

3. What will the Democratic Party and its representatives in Congress do to abolish Jim Crow in housing, transportation, education, recreation and other social services?

4. What will the Democratic Party and its representatives in Congress do to ensure the permanency of the Fair Employment Practices Committee as an administrative agency to bring the techniques of intelligence, of fact and of justice to the problems of breaking down discrimination in employment?

5. What will the Democratic Party and its representatives in Congress do to break down discrimination in the armed forces?

Not only the members of the March On Washington Movement but 13,000,000 Negroes await your answer.

Respectfully yours,

Lawrence M. Ervin
Regional Director

Colden Brown
President
New York Division

Layle Lane
Chairman-Action Committee

LL:cs

PRESS RELEASE

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York, N.Y.

THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT AND NON-VIOLENT CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

(By E. Pauline Myers, Executive Secretary)

New York City, February 23, 1943

This is an hour of crisis. Negro Americans are frustrated. Growing discontent is visible among the multitude. Eager eyes and questioning faces are turned toward leadership in search of a way out. The old method of conferences, round table discussions, pink tea parties, luncheons and Black Cabinets has been exploded. The patience of Negro America is sorely tried. Mere organization is not enough. Professional organizations, religious organizations, social organizations, recreational organizations are plentiful but they cannot solve the problem. Negroes are tired of charity, especially that of the good will variety that destroys their dignity and aids in greater exploitation. The Negro has experimented for seventy-eight years with the education formula showing the white man why he should be free. He is not asking for a hand out. The Negro American has come to maturity and he wants to be free to walk as a man. He is no longer a child of the human race begging that some self-appointed savior take his hand and lead him. He is tired of being the white man's burden. The desire is for unadulterated freedom which is without compromise. Not a promise for future consideration, but democracy now, with all the attending rights, privileges and responsibilities pertaining thereto. The need is for mass organization with an action program aggressive, bold and challenging in spirit, but non-violent in character. Such a program is the March On Washington Movement.

The Movement seeks first of all the right to the freedom of expression for Negro people to tell their story to the world about the oppression and exploitation to which they are subjected. The aim is to educate and shape public opinion by letting the world know that the Negro is ouraged by the hypocrisy and

seeming indifference to his welfare. While Congress, the President and the Nation begs and debate the question of extending democracy to colored Americans, we spend our blood, our brain and our brawn fighting for it abroad. If America is sincere about the freedom of the world she must grant that freedom at home. She will not need to spend billions for armaments here in order to extend this freedom she can give it by the mere stroke of the pen.

The objective of the MOWM is first to crystallize the mass consciousness of injustices and inhumanity toward people of color and project it into a cause for which Negroes themselves will gladly and willingly suffer and sacrifice; secondly, to re-educate white America on the question of equal rights for Negroes; and, thirdly, to enlist the mind and will of liberal and Christian America to join in an all-out struggle for the abolition of jim-crow and other unjust laws which condemn and subject their fellow Americans to exploitation, indignity and humiliation.

The first job is to organize Negroes in mass so that they may be summoned into action over night for mass demonstrations and maneuvers. The attempt is to do the usual because only the usual attracts.

The idea of a March On Washington is in itself one of the techniques of non-violent direct action in as much as it is a demonstration of the numerical strength of the Negro people on the March for their rights, disciplined and organized, spiritually and morally motivated so that they show no violence either in word or in deed, and seeking only to place their cause in the main stream of public opinion.

A. Philip Randolph, National Director of MOWM, in calling the Negro people to convene in Chicago the last week in May to ponder and discuss non-violent civil disobedience as one of the methods for solving the American race problem is calling upon Black America to non-violently protest in mass the unfair and undemocratic laws that violate the basic moral and human citizenship right of the Negro people. The effect is that of a boycott. If the National Conference adopts this method the Negro people will be called upon to boycott trains, street cars, buses, restaurants, waiting rooms, rest rooms, hotels,

schools and institutions that have jim crow laws and patterns for one week. They will be expected to occupy the regular accomodations provided for other Americans in a disciplined, dignified, non-violent manner and if they are ejected forcibly or otherwise, they will accept it without fighting back and without showing any violence either in word or in deed. They will keep repeating this over and over again in mass until the idea takes shape all over this land that Negroes mean to be free. They will oppose unjust laws not accepting them.

The idea is dramatic but not entirely new for Negroes either as individuals or as groups. It is traditional for Negroes to "Jump Jim Crow", in spite of the fact that the escape is often expensive, sacrificial and many times hazardous. Such jumps sometimes take the form of mass migrations in which groups of Negroes migrate north, east and west in search of an escape from jim crow schools and jim crow jobs. The mass migration is but another form of the technique of non-violent direct action. To jump jim crow travel facilities Negroes have made no little sacrifice in order to purchase the most expensive and luxurious limousines on the most meager incomes. To jump jim crow street cars and buses Negroes have motored to and from work at often greater expense to themselves than if they had made use of the public utilities. Negroes have often subjected themselves to hazardous circumstances such as "Passing for White" in order to jump jim crow and in order to obtain jobs that were outside the jim crow pattern. Individual Negroes have often sacrificed their families to perfect such escapes although at times they have been unconscious of so doing. The only difference between the "Jump Jim Crow" idea and the idea behind the March On Washington Movement is that Negroes will consciously dramatize the problem before the whole nation by a mass demonstration of disobedience to jim crow laws and patterns, the philosophy being that citizens are morally obligated to disobey an unjust law.

No members of the March On Washington Movement will be called upon to volunteer in a program for Non-Violent Direct Action until they have been organized by duly authorized officials of the Movement. Volunteers must pledge

themselves to show no violence either in word or in deed even if violence be shown unto them. The idea is not to provoke a race riot in America. The road is always open for negotiations. The aim is to harness the flow of rising resentment and indignation on the part of Negro Americans that has become intensified due to the conditions of the war and turn it into a deep spiritual force for constructive social action.

The March On Washington Movement is not against the war and has no intentions of obstructing the war effort. Soldiers, sailors, and defense workers will not be called upon to enlist in the campaign. In reality the program will be helping the war effort because Negro Americans will be helping to defeat the Hitlerites at home and thereby helping to win democracy for the world.

The anxious eyes of India and China are being turned toward America. America can no longer remain half slave and half free. The time to choose the way is now. We cannot put our faith entirely in armaments to win freedom for the world. Our faith must be fixed on truth.

"Ye hereditary bondsmen, know ye that he who would be free must himself strike the first blow."

National Program of Action
August 1943 to July 31, 1944

MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT

I.

A. To carry on a progressive fight in behalf of a mixed army of the United States of America.

B. To continue the fight on the Winfred Lynn case in cooperation with the American Civil Liberties Union for the enforcement of Section 4A of the 1940 Draft Act which reads:

> " In the selection and training of men under this act, and in the interpretation and execution of the provisions of this Act, there shall be no discrimination against any person on account of race or color."

II.

A. To understand and develop strategy in the use of the technique of non-violent good will direct action as an instrument for abolishing jim crow and racial segregation in the United States.

B. To sponsor institute and week end conference for the training of MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT leadership in non-violent good will direct action.

C. To organize, discipline and school members of the MOWM in the dynamic technique of "marching" preparatory to launching a national non-violent "march" of Negroes to the nation's capitol to protest the indignities and injustices heaped upon the Negro people and to demand action on the part of the National government.

III.

A. To organize a Non-Partisan Political Bloc of Negroes for the purpose of developing mass political pressure.

B. To develop mass plans to secure mass registration of the Negroes for the primaries and for the elections.

IV.

A. To work for Negro representation on the Peace Commission to negotiate the peace of the world.

B. To popluarize the slogan of a Free Africa and a free Caribbean.

V.

To initiate a Western Hemispheric Conference of Free Negroes

VI.

To carry on a national fund raising campaign among the Negro people to carry on the fight for their own liberation.

MOWM Documents etc

ORGANIZATION PLAN
FOR THE
CONTINUING CONFERENCE AGAINST RACE DISCRIMINATION IN THE WAR EFFORT

Principles

This conference is committed to the general principle of the equality of all races. Any discrimination based upon race which prevents any group of citizens from taking part fully in the privileges and responsibilities of American life is not only contrary to the principle of democratic freedom but also deprives the nation of its greatest manpower strength. Such discrimination is both a denial of our own democratic professions and a negation of the professed aims of the war and of the peace, which envisage the equality of all peoples in the enjoyment of democratic liberties.

Name

The Conference shall be known as the Continuing Conference Against Race Discrimination in the War Effort.

Functions

While no phase of race discrimination is alien to the purposes of the Conference, its chief concern at present is with discrimination against the largest of all racial minorities in the United States--the Negro. The first undertaking of the Conference is to work toward the full and democratic integration of Negroes into all activities in which our country is engaged for winning the war. This implies getting the wider support of as many groups and individuals as possible in the development of this program with special emphasis on enlisting white organizations and individuals to carry their share of responsibility with interracial and Negro organizations working in this field.

The Conference shall be a continuing conference-- each organization presenting its understanding of the problems involved, its experience, its suggestions regarding hitherto unapproached problems, its contributions to the common planning of strategy and tactics, its effective support according to its own program and its election of projects and supporting action for such projects.

Membership

The Conference will be made up of national organizations which agree with its general principles, are interested in the interchange of ideas, and are willing to render support on a cooperative basis for projects approved by the Conference. Each organization in the Conference shall have one vote at the full meetings of the Conference and one vote in each Division in which it chooses to be represented.

Divisions

The Conference will be formed into Divisions for the consideration of the various problems connected with Negro discrimination in the war effort and methods for meeting these problems. The Divisions against Discrimination will be as follows:

1. In the Armed Forces;
2. In Government Civilian Employment;
3. In the Voluntary Services;
4. In Training for War Services and War Industries;
5. In Industry;
6. In Trade Unions;
7. In Public Housing.

A member organization can serve on the Division or the Divisions which it elects as being within its sphere of interest. Permanent chairmen of these Divisions will be nominated by the Policy Committee subject to the approval of the organizations taking part in the respective Divisions. The chairmen of these Divisions will, after their appointment, serve as additional members of the Policy Committee.

Policy Committee

The Policy Committee, appointed at the Conference meeting May 11 by the chairman in cooperation with the Committee Against Race Discrimination of the American Civil Liberties Union, shall nominate permanent chairmen of the Divisions subject to the approval of the organizations composing the respective Divisions, shall arrange for the rotation of temporary chairmen from the member organizations at full meetings of the Conference when the permanent chairman cannot attend, shall adjust conflicts that may arise from the recommendations originating in the different Divisions, shall approve publicity plans and timing for the campaigns for the various projects.

Chairman

Miss Pearl S. Buck, will serve as chairman of the Conference, the member organizations supplying a rotation of chairmen for Conference meetings at which she cannot be present.

Projects

Projects are to be initiated in the various Divisions and presented to the Conference as a whole by the Division chairmen. Adoption of a project will be determined by the majority vote of organizations present whose representatives vote on any given project. Those not voting on any given project will not be counted in regard to that particular project. The Conference may, in passing upon some projects, vote to refer these projects for further study by the Division in which they originated or for joint consideration by two or more Divisions. Projects so referred can then be passed upon by the Policy Committee after the Division or Divisions have carried out the recommended procedure. The Conference may by vote refer a project or a group of projects to the Policy Committee for integration of schedule and timing.

A project so adopted by the Conference or by the Policy Committee will be circularized to all organizations in the Conference together with a schedule of recommended actions; each organization will then have opportunity to elect which of the supporting actions it will undertake in regard to each project. With each project or proposal circularized will be a reply card listing the kinds of supporting action which member agencies can elect to undertake. This card filled out and returned by the member agency will be kept on record in the headquarters of the Conference and will be the basis on which the Conference conducts the campaign for the specific project. Publicity on each project will go out from the Conference office on Conference news release heads, using in the body of the release only the names of those organizations which have expressed their willingness to have their names used in connection with that particular project.

Local Continuing Conferences

The members of the Conference may pass along to their local branches and chapters throughout the country the conference plan to the end that local continuing conferences against Negro discrimination will be set in action. The Conference looks to these local continuing conferences to get support from women's groups, civic organizations, service clubs, trade associations, chambers of commerce, trade unions, and other groups on a local basis.

Relation of the Conference to the Committee Against Race Discrimination of the American Civil Liberties Union.

The Conference, which was called together originally by the Committee against Race Discrimination in the War Effort of the A merican Civil Liberties Union, shall be an independent organization in which each member agancy has equal standing. The American Civil Liberties Union and the Committee will be member agencies of the Conference.

The Secretary of the Committee will serve as Secretary of the Conference.

****

Mo W. M.
Freedom document

"1. Democracy has for its purpose the long-time interests, welfare and happiness of all people, not merely of those who for various causes have previously been privileged.

"2. It develops a steadily increased sense of obligation to a constantly enlarging social group.

"3. It carries an obligation to be socially informed and intelligent.

"4. It expects and requires informed and responsible participation in making decisions on broad social policies.

"5. It induces a willingness to sacrifice personal comforts for the recognized public welfare, and also active co-operation in the support of policies legally adopted.

"6. It requires that each individual actively, intelligently and conscientiously help to choose those to whom responsibility will be given.

"7. It expects every individual to render willingly and with such skill as he possesses services that his fellows assign to him for the general welfare.

"8. It offers opportunities for voluntary self-initiated acceptance of responsibilities.

"9. Itvrespects the personality of every individual (whatever his origin, present status, or natural gifts), develops in him a sense of 'belongingess' assumes that the maximum development of each individual is for the best interests of all, and both furnishes an environment and provides opportunities for stimulating, encouraging and directing him to respect himself and to make the best of his own natural gifts to develop his own unique personality.

"10. It insures equality of treatment by those to whom authority has been intrusted.

"11. It insures freedom of acquiring information by directed but unhindered inquiry; of coming to independent conclusions, using the ideal of honesty, fairmindedness and scientific methods; of speech and press to exert such influence as he can over his fellows; of criticism; of proposal and of advocacy of plans for the general betterment ; of assembly to consider means of attaining rights or greater general welfare; of petition for the redress of what he considers to be wrongs; of worship.

"12 It respects the rights of minorities, but compels them to conform to the program approved by the majority when non-conformance would interfere with progress toward general welfare and happiness, leaving to minorities the right to agitate peacefully for desired changes.

"13. It believes that an individual becomes free and effective by exercising self-restraint and reasoned self-direction rather than by having restraint or arbitrary direction imposed by external authority, and therefore it appeals to reason and to an educated conscience rather than to force for the promotion of its desired ends.

Dr Ensminger
12/23/41

"14. It guarantees the right to the pursuit of happiness in any ways that do not materially interfere with the happiness of others.

"15. It encourages initiative.

"16. It offers opportunities for individuals to learn under guidance the use of their rights and privileges, alone and by active participation with others, always for the ultimate good of the social group.

"17. It attempts a general diffusion among its people of the ideals, knowledge, standards of conduct and spirit of fair play which promote a sense of equality and of responsibility.

"18. It renews its strength by continual education as to its meaning and purpose, by education for the effective realization of the democratic faith."

Memorandum

1. If the March is not thoroughly and efficiently organized, it should be postponed to August 1 which has some historical significance I believe in that it is the date of the Emancipation of Negroes.

2. Complete organization implies control, and the necessity of control or the power to control the March is of paramount importance. Otherwise

   A. Political Radicals may inject themselves and distort the purpose of the March.

      1. By [illegible] the March with banners and placards - criticizing the foreign policy of the government.

      2. By deliberately inciting friction between themselves and Washington's prejudiced and crucker police force or with the counter rioting can destroy all the good such a March would do.

   B. The March will not have the dignity and force necessary to be effective.

3. The March to be organized effectively should have adequate finance and regional offices.

   A. New York, Chicago, [illegible], Baltimore, Washington, Cleveland, Detroit, [illegible].

   B. Flying squadrons of speakers should address Negro congregations and ask for special collections.

   C. Committee should be enlarged to include labor, lodge, church, [illegible] organizations.

4. A statement should be now issued to the Press services pointing out the purpose of the March and the reply to President Roosevelt's statement. (See suggestion as to the type of statement I have in mind.)

5. Washington Committee should obtain churches and schools to feed marchers at cost. Each marcher should be given special credentials or at least the leaders selected for each section - each city should appoint (leaders) aids.

6. Washington Committee should hold conference with police officials and House - District of Columbia Committee.

   A. To secure permits for March.

   B. To secure protection to Marchers.

   C.

7. All placards - banners, etc. should be inspected by special committee so that nothing should be utilized which would lay us open either to sabotage of defense efforts or being the tools of Communism.

8. Transportation committee should see about special rates on railroads - and list number of automobiles available with seating capacity, etc.
This should be published each week for at least two weeks before March.

9. If all these things have been taken care of forgive me.

Personal Statement.

Statement.

On (July 1st) August 1st representatives of the 13,000,000 Negroes in America will march to the capital at Washington. We march in protest against the flagrantly cruel treatment that is being accorded us who are citizens of the United States ~~Government~~ in this hour of peril ~~to our government~~ and by private industrial organizations both of which have and are guilty of racial discrimination and prejudice that has no parallel in the world today save in Nazi Germany.

We march by virtue of that article in the Bill of Rights of the Constitution which guarantees the right of assembly and petition to all American citizens.

We subscribe to no philosophy except the philosophy of this Democracy. We have no loyalties except to this our country which we have for three hundred years been a part. We are not ashamed of the role which our forefathers fathers played in building this Democracy. They labored for two hundred and fifty years in slavery and their descendants have never waivered in their loyalty to this government, nor been derelict in duty either in peace or war.

We as citizens must help to bear the cost of creating the arsenal for democracies. We shall not be free from taxation, nor do we wish to be. From out of our meager earnings we must pay our share in order that America might be prepared to defend itself against the impending threat of a totalitarian attack against our government and its institutions.

We solemnly appeal to the American people and to their representatives in Washington and to the President of all Americans colored and white to accept the implications and the responsibilities of the

democratic concept of government. That concept embodied in the preamble to the Declaration of Independence charted the course of this government and created its goal. "And we hold these truths to be self evident that all men are created equal and endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights and among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

Insofar as the government of the United States or private industry is unwilling to follow the spirit of these words, it repudiates and rejects the very fundamentals of the democratic form of government.

We cannot believe that the great majority of the American people endorse the policies and methods of Hitler in Europe much less in America. And therefore we seek the abolition of racial discrimination and segregation in the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Aviation Corps, and in governmental departments in Washington.

and

We seek the unqualified, and unrestricted opportunity to work in defense industries, on the same terms and under the same conditions as other Americans.

We are citizens. We have won our citizenship by every test that can be applied. For this our country we have worked and in defense of this government we have offered our lives.

We march as Americans seeking that equality of opportunity which is the boast of this democracy.

We march to keep alive the spirit of Lincoln's government of the people, for the people and by the people.

MOWM.
Fundamental Document.

Whereas, Negroes are serving in great numbers of the armed forces of the United States of America; and

Whereas, Negroes are supporting the War Effort wholeheartedly by the purchase of War Bonds and Stamps; and

Whereas, Negroes are suffering the privations that all other citizens and residents of these United States are called on to suffer on account of the necessity of an "all out" war effort; and

Whereas, there are among us many qualified skilled workers belonging to the Negro race who are denied the right and privilege of contributing their dkill and knowledge to the aforesaid War Effort; and

Whereas, the President of the United States has recognized the foregoing facts and has promulgated order, known as Executive Order 8802, prohibiting discrimination in the Government Agencies, Defense Industries, etc., where Federal monies are expended, on account of race, creed, religion, or national origin, therefore

Be it resolved by the _____

put ourselves on record as advocating the passage of a law by the next session of the Tennessee Legislature, in support of and in collaboration with the said "Executive Order 8802", and making it unlawful in this great state to violate the said order and prescribing penalties therefor.

Richmond, Va.
Circuit Court of the
City of Richmond
Office

Mrs. Irene Patton
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OBJECT

It shall be the object of the March On Washington Movement to unite, teach, organize, mobilize, direct and lead the Negro masses to struggle and fight for their own liberation from racial discrimination, segregation and jim-crowism, and the achievement of complete democratic citizenship rights, freedom, justice and equality, and to cooperate and collaborate with progressive movements, social, economic, political and religious, to help build a free world for free men without regard to race, color, religion or national origin.

8 POINT PROGRAM

MARCH-ON-WASHINGTON MOVEMENT

"Winning Democracy for the Negro Is Winning the War for Democracy"

The war in which our country is engaged not only involves a major share of its resources, but also everyone of its citizens both white and black. The Negro citizen, therefore, who is part of the warp and woof of these United States, is vitally concerned not only in a military victory of his country but also in the triumph of the expressed aims of the war.

Every statement of war aims by responsible leaders in all walks of life, the principles of the four freedoms, the eight point program of the Atlantic Charter and it is to be hoped, the prospectus of a much needed Pacific Charter, express the desire that the outcome of this vast and terrible conflict will be the triumph of democracy and its establishment on a wider and firmer basis. To insure such a result the preservation and extension of our democratic principles must be an essential part of winning the war.

For the masses of people abstract principles have vitality only in concrete expression: "Freedom from want is real only when it means a chance to work for sufficient food, clothing and shelter. Likewise for the Negro, and for all oppressed people everywhere, the fight for democracy has meaning only when it grants to them the full measure of every right as well as of every obligation for which democracy stands.

We Negroes do not enjoy these rights in the country to which we have given fully of our labor, our talents and of our blood. To insure that national unity so essential for victory it is imperative that the Negro be given an equal chance with every other American to enjoy the privileges of American citizenship.

The source of our disabilities lies in the caste system maintained by the Southern states, where segregation and discrimination in social, economic and political life spreads its vicious influence elsewhere. Only an all-attack by the national government on this caste system at its source will destroy its danger to national unity.

Therefore, 13,000,000 Negroes representing one-tenth of the population demand of our national government this 8 point program for winning democracy for the Negro and thereby winning the war for democracy.

1. We demand in the interest of national unity, the abrogation of every law which makes a distinction in treatment between citizens based on religion, creed, color, or national origin. This means an end to Jim Crow in education, in housing, in transportation and in every other social, economic and political privilege; and especially we demand, in the capital of the nation, an end to all segregation in public places and in public institutions.
2. We demand legislation to enforce the 5th and 14th amendments guaranteeing that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law so that the full weight of the national government may be used for the protection of life and thereby may end the disgrace of lynching.
3. We demand the enforcement of the 14th and 15th amendments and the enactment of the Pepper Poll Tax Bill so that all barriers in the exercise of the suffrage are eliminated.
4. We demand the abolition of segregation and discrimination in the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Air Corps, and all other branches of national defense.
5. We demand an end to discrimination in jobs and job training. Further, we demand that the F. E. P. C. be made a permanent administration agency of the U. S. Government and that it be given power to enforce its decisions based on its findings.
6. We demand that federal funds be withheld from any agency which practices discrimination in the use of such funds.
7. We demand Negro and minority group representation on all administrative agencies so that these groups may have recognition of their democratic right to participate in formulating policies.
8. We demand representation for the Negro and minority racial groups on all missions, political and technical, which will be sent to the peace conference so that the interests of all people everywhere may be fully recognized and justly provided for in the post war settlement.

Nothing less than this program will afford Negroes their constitutional rights; nothing less will be an evidence of America's devotion to the democratic way of life.

WAKE UP, NEGRO AMERICA!

"Winning Democracy for the Negro Is Winning the War for Democracy."

Stand Upon Your Feet and Mobilize! Organize! and Fight for

Equal Rights • Equal Opportunity • In Our Country

WE DEMAND THE RIGHT TO

FIGHT
SERVE AND } IN ALL BRANCHES AND DEPARTMENTS
WORK

of the Army, Navy, Air Corps, U. S. Marines, Government, Defense Industry, as: Officers In All Ranks, Technicians In All Ranks, Skilled, Semi-Skilled and Unskilled Workers In All Ranks.

50,000 Negroes Must Storm Madison Square Garden

50th STREET AND EIGHTH AVENUE

Tuesday Night, June 16th

7 o'Clock

WE DEMAND

equal opportunity for training to become officers and skilled workers.
representation on all policy-making committees, boards and commissions of the government.
full enforcing power for Fair Employment Practice Committee.
that Negro blood segregation by Red Cross be discontinued.
that all discriminatory practices in jobs, housing or otherwise, cease.

Tickets of Admission on Sale 25c

MARCH-ON-WASHINGTON COMMITTEE
New York Division
HOTEL THERESA BUILDING
2084 Seventh Avenue Phone: MOnument 2-3350 New York, N. Y.

440

1942

KCOCM Nat'l fundamental Documents

Organizationa and Structure

Present Organization

1. Calls for a Mass Membership Organization

   A. The structure is one of a Block Plan of organization

   B. It requires an elaborate administrative staff

   C. It places a heavy financial responsibility upon local Units to maintain a local and national office.

   D. It necessitates an active interest on program to sustain the mass membership and keep them interested.

   E. Masses are restless and without an Activity Staff to channel their energies often press the Administration into ill advised or rash actions.

Cell Group Organization

1. "Cells" represent a Mass Movement and entail mass organization but do not require mass membership

What Is A "Cell"

1. A "Cell is a Committee of Cause Conscious individuals that are part of an organization of minute branches.

   A. These cells communicate one with the other through a Central Cell which may be known as the " Brain".

   B. These "Cells are dedicated to a specific program of action and in our case would be to liberate the Negro people.

   c. Cells grow and expand and form other cells in proportion as individuals are considered ready for membership. All cells groups are kept small.

   D. Members of cells spend their time studying the problem, indoctrinating fellow members and in mapping strategic campaigns of action.

How They Work

1. After a Campaign strategy has been mapped and in detail and each member is assigned his line of duty, public

announcement is given of the campaign and activities are set into operation to build Cause Consciousness in the community.

2. During this period committees are set up in the community by way of the democratic process but undet the watchful guiding eye of "Cell" members, utilizing their discipline and training to organize and steer community action.

3. Administration

Administration resides in the Central Cell which has the power to map national strategy. The National Director with the assistance of the National Executive Secretary can visit and promote work on National scale eliminating the necessity for local staff.

Present Membership

Cities like Chicago, New York and St. Louis that have large functioning memberships need not eliminate theri old members but will not ~~promote~~* recruit new members. They will proceed to build a Cell Unit within present framework and do away with weekly meeting.

New Units will be organized on the basis of cell

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Present Membership

Cities like Chicago, New York and St. Louis that have large fluctuating membership need not eliminate their old members but will not ~~promote~~* recruit new members. They will proceed to build a Cell Unit within present framework and do away with weekly meeting.

New units will be organized on the basis of cell

Chicago
Cleveland
Detroit
Pittsburgh
Philadelphia
Newark
Stockton
Fr. School
Detroit

How To Organize A Local Unit
National March On Washington Movement

Part I

Proposed National Constitution

Article XIII
Local Units of the Movement

(A) Whenever five or more persons shall indicate in writing to the National Office or it's Representative their desire to organize a unit of the Movement, the National Board of Directors in consultation with the Local Regional Director, may in its discretion give authority for the establishment of the Unit. This authority may be recalled at any time by a majority vote of the National Board of Directors.

(B) All existing Local Units shall formulate, adopt and forward to the National Office a copy of their proposed constitution and By-Laws within three months following the adoption of this constitution.

(c) All Local units hereafter established shall formulate, adopt and forward to the National Office a copy of their proposed constitution and By-Laws within three months after the granting of the authority to organize.

Part II

Report of Committee on Organization
March On Washington Movement

September 26, 1942
Detroit, Michigan

To The Policy Conference of the March On Washington Movement in time and place.

Greetings:

The Organizational Committee considered as the purpose of its deliberations the development of a pattern for organizing the March On Washington Movement which could provide a framework around which a membership of sufficient numerical strength could be built so as to characterize the Movement as a mass movement; to fashion an organizational structure of such a model as to provide for the minute-man type of machinery calculated to mobolize into immediate action the entire membership upon short notice.

Open discussions ensued as to the membership activities of the various divisions represented. By this it was felt that valuable directives could be established for the Committee to be guided by in its thinking. It was the general expression and belief of the Committee that appeals to the individuals for membership should be made by means of personal contact by the representatives and workers of a highly specialized organizational unit within the Movement; that a standardized method for the recruitment of the membership must be established.

It is in accordance with these needs that the Committee submits and recommends for adoption the following scheme for organization.

General Organizer - National Executive Secretary

Authority - There shall be a General Organizer appointed by the National Director. The term of office of the General Organizer shall be for a term not longer than that of the appointing Director, but he may be re-appointed by the continuing or succeeding Director.

Duties - The General Organizer shall supervise, direct and administer a program of membership on a national scale. He shall in collaboration with the National Officers and the National Executive Board, develop policies and procedures; prepare standardized forms to be used in membership; plan, coordinate and execute membership campaigns on a national scale; establish and maintain a close working relationship with the Regional, State and Division Organziers, issuing to them from time to time as needs require directive procedures and policies relating to membership activities prepare and submit to the National Director reports concerning the program of membership and progress in the accomplishment of this program.

Regional Organizers

Authority - There shall be five Regional Organizers each of whom shall be appointed by the Regional Director of the Region in which he serves. The Regional Organizer shall serve for a term of not more than the term of the appointing officer.

Duties - The Regional Organizers shall supervise, direct and execute the program of membership recruitment within each of the states comprising the region in which he serves. He shall be responsible for the execution of the policies, procedures and plans for membership as established by the General Organizer; establish and maintain close working relationships with the State and Director Organizers within his region, directing and coordinating their membership activities so as to conform to a national pattern; to prepare and submit to the Regional Director and General Organizer perodic reports on the development and progress of membership in his region.

State Organizers

Authority - Each state shall have a State Organizer appointed by the State Director for a term not longer than that of the appointing officer but who may be re-appointed by the continuing or succeeding Director.

Duties - The State Organizer shall have the responsibility of directing and coordinating the membership activities of the various divisions subject to his supervision; plan and conduct a program pointing towards the organization of new city divisions of the movement where none have hitherto existed; establish and maintain close direction and encouragement of membership activities in each of the divisions within the state; prepare and submit to the State Director and Regional Director regular reports concerning the program of membership and progress in the accomplishment thereof.

Local Units Constitute A Division

Division Organizers

Authority - Each division of the March On Washington Movement shall have a Division Organizer appointed by the Division Director (or President) for a term not longer than that of the appointing Director, but who may be re-appointed by the continuing or succeeding Director (or President)

Duties - The Division Organizer shall have the responsibility of organizing and developing by districts and by blocks the membership of his particular division; plot and lay out districts of not more than ten square blocks to which he may appoint and assign District Organizers; cooperate with other standing committees functioning within the division which can be of assistance in increasing membership; act in an advisory capacity to district Organizers in matters relating to organizational work, allocate to districts Organizers literature and material for distribution among the Block Organizers, prepare and submit regular reports to the Division Director (or President) and the State Organizer on the progress of the division's activities.

District Organizers

Authority - The Division Organizer shall have the authority to appoint and assign to districts of not more than ten blocks District Organizers.

Duties - The District Organizer shall have the responsibility of developing the block-plan method, of the membership within the district to which he is assigned and in cooperation with the Division Organizer shall select and appoint persons as Block Organizers. He shall hold and conduct meetings with the Block Organizers for the purpose of discussing the problems of Block organization, developing techinques and methods which will implement their work and passing out materials and literature for use and distribution by the Block Organizers. He shall prepare and submit regular reports on the progress of the organizational work within his district.

Block Organizers

Authority - The Division Organizer in cooperation with the District Organizer shall select and appoint Block Organizers.

Duties - The Block Organizer or Captain shall be responsible for the complete coverage of one square block area, developing and stimulating membership in this territory by means of a house to house canvas and distributing literature of the division and national body. He shall have the authority to appoint a responsible person within each house to assist him in this work. He shall regularly meet with his district Organizer for the purpose of discussing organizational problems, offering suggestions for the improvement of the membership methods and techniques and reporting on the progress of his work.

The Committee has not made any attempt to completely define the duties of all of the various organizers, but has touched upon what they believe to be the more essential of their respect-

tives duties. Complete definition of duties will evolve only after functioning for a period sufficient to settle precedent and establish policy.

Respectfully submitted,

Part III

Article IV
Objectives

It shall be the objective of the March On Washington Mo vement to awaken, teach, organize, direct and lead the Negro masses to struggle and fight for their own liberation from racial discrimination, segregation and jim-crowism and the achievement of complete citizenship rights, freedom, justice and equality, and to cooperate and collaborate with progressive movements, socialy economic, political and religious, to help build a free world. for free men without regard to race, color, religion or natural origin.

Part IV

Officers

All officers are temporary until the May conference after which local elections will be held. The officers are: Divisional Organizer or President; Assistant Divisional Organizer or Vice President; Recording Secretary; Corresponding Secretary; Treasurer. The Executive Board shall consist of the cabinet, district Organizers and heads of the Standing Committees.

A Program of Non-Violent Direct Action
For Local Units
March On Washington Movement
(By E. Pauline Myers,
National Executive Secretary)

Part I.

History

On December 30, 1942 A. Philip Randolph, National Director March On Washington Movement issued a Call through the National Press urging the Negro people to convene in Chicago the last week in May 1943 to ponder and discuss the use of Non-Violent Civil Disobedience as a method of Direct Action to win for the Negro people their liberation. "Winning democracy for the Negro people", says Randolph, "is winning the war for democracy"

The Non-Violent Civil Disobedience Campaign

If the National Conference adopts this method of action a special time for campaign will be established and should proceed somewhat as follows:

1. Negroes will be asked to stay out of trains, buses, street cars, restaurants, rest rooms, waiting rooms, schools and institutions that have jim crow laws or Jim Crow patterns for a specified time. Instead, they are asked to occupy, in a disciplined carefully organized way, the accomodations reserved for other Americans. This week they are not Negroes especially, but Americans, accepting all the rights, privileges and responsibilities pertaining thereto. The philosophy of the campaign being that citizens are morally justified to disobey an unjust law. Since Jim Crow laws and patterns are designed to inferiorate, debase and humiliate the Negro people, Negroes are henceforth morally justified and obligated not only to disregard but to disobey them.

2. In the case Negroes are ejected, either forcibly or otherwise, they are not to resist but accept it, showing no violence either in word or in deed but in a well ordered manner are to continue going, meeting resistance with love instead of hate, simply going constantly until the world knows that Negroes mean to be free.

3. In cities where Civil Rights laws exist Negroes are to make use of them. Groups of them are to be seen in the most exclusive and restrictive hotels and restaurants. They are to utilize every means of showing America that Negroes don't want to be given special privileges but want to be treated as Americans

The Non-Violent Civil Disobedience Campaign

4. Liberal and christian Americans are to be asked to stay out of hotels, restaurants, rest rooms, street cars, buses and trains that do not accomodate Negroes but sacrifice these conveniences for the duration of the campaign with the philosophy that what serves to indignify, humiliate and exploit their black brother serves also to exploit them and to prevent the realization of democracy in America.

5. In the case that court battles ensue some Negroes will be asked to serve time instead of to pay their fines, the philosophy being that inasmuch as Negroes have so long accepted these policies of discrimination the Negro is entitled to suffer and sacrifice for being a partner to such crime.

6. Soldiers, sailors and defense workers will not be called upon to enlist in this campaign.

7. A careful program of education and moral discipline will be undertaken to prepare both Negro and white Americans for the campaign.

8. Notices of the beginning of such a campaign will be publicized. We take no responsibility for persons acting in our name without such authority being given from the National Office. We a ssume no responsibility for provocateurs.

Some Little Steps That Might Be Taken In Local Communities By Local Units

1. The Local Organizer and Local Director might call in representatives of organized community groups and discuss the program with them and decide upon some little steps that might be taken as a means of discipline and education of the Negro masses. Here is a suggested procedure:

A. Church Groups

1. An interdenominational Committee of ministers might come together to arrange foran interdenominational Day of Prayer. On this occasion all the Negro people will assemble at one church for a deep and impressive prayer service for Freedom. At this time we will pray that God will deliver the Negro people from unjust laws and that God will hasten the coming of brotherhood and of democracy to the United States and to the world.

B. Lodge Groups and Fraternities

Representatives from trade unions, lodges and fraternal groups might be called in to discuss the program and then be asked to sponsor a Parade For Freedom. MOWM units might cooperate with them by making banners and placards for the parade.

C. School Groups

1. School children might be asked to wear caps which call for enforcing the constitution and abolishing Jim Crow. Such caps to be furnished through the National MOWM office.

2. Special assembly programs might be arranged both on college campuses and in public schools acquainting people with the program and urging cooperation.

3. School children might beorganized to March and sing for freedom. They might even be given the opportunity to boycott Jim Crow schools for one hour in protest against injustices.

D. Libraries

1. Libraries might be asked to exhibit books that deal with freedom for all people.

2. Libraries might be asked to plan book reviews.

E. Music, Art and Drama

1. Musicians might be asked to write songs dedicated to the spirit and philosophy of the Movement.

2. Community groups might be organized to sing these songs. Block Captains might arrange for street singing.

3. Drama groups might be asked to present plays on these themes.

4. Local artists might organize a Poster Campaign and ask that Negroes purchase these signs to place them in their windows and on their doors.

Part II

All of the aforesaid step are legal and are in keeping with our purpose to crystallize the mass consciousness of grievances and injustices directed towards Negroes and project it into a Cause for which Negroes themselves will gladly and willingly suffer and sacrifice.

National March On Washington Movement

Policies and Directives

Local Units - March On Washington Movement

Part I.

The March On Washington Movement - What it is.

The Movement originated out of the protests, grievances and injustices that beset the Negro people and the mass cry for deliverance. It grew out of a threatened March On Washington called by A. Philip Randolph, its founder and philosopher, to break down discrimination in the army navy and air corp, in the government and in defense industries, and which resulted in the establishment of the Fair Employment Practices Committee - Executive Order #8802.

A series of mass meetings and conferences and the resolutions growing out of them indicated the need for a type of permanent organization that would have as its objective the following:

1. To develop mass power through a mass organization with an active program, aggressive, bold and challenging in spirit but non-violent in character.

2. To crystallize the mass consciousness of grievances and injustices against Negroes and project it into a Cause for which Negroes themselves will gladly and willingly suffer and sacrifice.

3. To re-educate white America on the question of equality for Negroes.

4. To enlist the support of liberal and christian white America in an all-out struggle for unadulterated democracy at home as well as abroad.

5. To operate by means of mass maneuvers and demonstrations.

The March On Washington Movement is All-Negro but not Anti-White nor Anti-American.

Part II.

How the Movement is organized.

Our Movement should be well knit together. It must have moral and spiritual vision, understanding and wisdom. We advise against rash judgement and misguided action. Our aim is to think through on issues and plan and discipline well our action so that none of our energies are dissipated or lost. We take no responsibility for provocateurs either locally or nationally. Persons acting in our name must be organized and disciplined by duly constituted authori-

How the Movement is organized (cont'd)

ties recognized by our National Office to execute policies.

Our job is actually to organize millions of Negroes and build them into block systems with captains so that they may be summoned to action over night and thrown into non-violent physical motion. Our forces must be marshalled with Block Captains to provide immediate and constant contact. Our Block Captains must hold perodic meetings for their blocks to develop iniative and the capacity to make decisions and move in relation to directions from the Central Organization of the Division and from the National Office.

Part III

The job of the Division of Local Unit

Our Divisions must serve as Negro Mass Parliments where the entire community may debate the day to day issues as police brutality, high rents, jobs in public utilities, discrimination and segragation - Jim Crow laws and patterns, Utilization of Negro manpower in defense and in government and other questions and make judgements and take action in the interest of the community.

These divisions should hold meetings twice a month. In them every Negro should be made to feel his importance as a factor in the liberation movement. We must have every Negro realize his leadership ability, the educated and the uneducated, the poor and the wealthy. In the March On Washington Movement the highest is as low as the lowest and the lowest as high as the highest. Numbers in mass formation is our key, directed of course by the collective intelligence of the people.

The Education Program

Our education porgram must be developed around the struggle of the Negro masses. We must develop mass plans to secure mass registration of the people for the primaries and elections. Through this program the masses can be given a practical and pragmatic view of the machanics and functioning of our government and the significance of mass political pressure.

Plans should be mapped and strategy studied by the various divisions to fight for Negro intergration in the public utilities and safeguard and police the Fair Employment Practices Committee. Workers Education should be carried on to inform workers about the trade union and social legislation. Public affairs education should be intergrated in our bulletins and in our regular meetings.

Vigorous campaigns and giant public protest meetings should continue in order to develop Cause Consciousness

The Education Program (cont'd)

and to give moral and spiritual strength to our Movement and the Negro masses.

The Mass Action Program

The day to day exercise of our Civil Rights is a constant challenge. Negroes have the moral obligation to demand the right to enjoy and make use of their civil and political privileges. The fight to break down Jim Crow barriers in every city should be carefully and painstakingly organized. By fighting non-violently but directly for these civil rights the Negro masses should be disciplined in struggle. Court battles may ensue but this will give the Negro masses a sense of their importance and value as citizens and as fighters in the Negro liberation movement and in the cause for democracy as a whole.

Part IV

Division of Authority

Until the May Conference and the proposed Constitution is amended and adopted central authority is vested in the National Director, who is our philosopher and founder.

The National Office has been temporarily established in the Hotel Theresa Building, 2084 Seventh Avenue, New York City and Miss E. Pauline Myers is the newly appointed National Executive Secretary. Miss Myers is the General Organizer of the Movement. Her term of office shall be for a term not longer than that of the appointing Director, but she may be re-appointed by the continuing or succeeding Director.

Her duties are to supervise, direct and administer a program of membership on a national scale. She shall collaborate with National Officers and the National Committee. She shall develop policies and procedures, prepare standardized forms to be used in membership campaigns, plan, coordinate and execute membership campaigns on a national scale, establish and maintain close working relationship with the Regional, State and Divisional Organizers, issuing to them from time to time as needs require directives, procedures and policies relating to membership activities, prepare and submit to the National Director reports concerning the program of membership and progress in the accomplihsment of this program.

Local Units are members of State Organizations, which in turn are members of Regional Organizations. The Detroit Conference designates five geographical areas and the National Director has the power to appoint five Regional Directors. Each Regional Director has the pwoer to appoint one Regional Organizer - the said organizer shall be responsible for the execution of policies and procedures and plans for membership as established by the National Executive Secretary so as to conform to a National pattern. She shall submit to the Regional Director and the National Executive Secretary perodic reports on the development and progress of membership within his region.

Division of Authority (cont'd)

The State Organizer shall have the authority of directing and coordinating the membership activities of the various divisions subject to his supervision; plan and conduct a program pointing toward the organization of new city divisions

In city divisions employing Executive Secretaries this secretary shall serve as Division Organizer. The responsibility shall be to organize and develop by districts and by blocks the membership of the particular division; plot and lay out districts of not more than ten square blocks to which he may appoimt and assign District Organizers. Organize and advise the standing committees on Education Techniques, Mass Action Strategy, Finance and Membership activities. Act in an advisory capacity to District Organizers in matters relating to organizational work. Allocate to District Organizers literature and material for distribution among Block Organizers. See that Block Organizers hold regular meetings among themselves and within their blocks. He should submit regular reports to the Division Director or President and the State Organizer on the progress of the division's activity.

Policies and directives governing Local Units will be handed down directly from the National Office.

Part V

Relationship to Other Organizations

The March on Washington Movement is not and is not intended to be a rival organization to any established organization already functioning to advance the interest of the Negro. It seeks only to demonstrate the techniques of militant mass pressure in the field of minority problems where other techniques have broken down.

The fundamental policy of the MOWM should be to cooperate with other agencies in a multiple attack on the problem. It should seek to advance overlapping of function and organization by seeking continous discussion with other organizations to affect a division of labor and the best utilization of community organizational resources. For example, where established recognized agencies are handling a specific situation, like the NAACP and the Urban League, the MOWM should not seek to supercede their activities or techniques in any way which will adversely affect the ultimate solution of the common problem. Once other agencies seek support, the MOWM should then use its facilities to attain the desired ends. Where problems arise, such as legal cases, job placement, etc., which can be handled efficiently by agencies already in the field the MOWM will refer such cases to the proper agencies.

The March On Washington Movement would do well to concentrate on limited objectives within a given area and a given time than to dissipate its energies in sporadic attacks on many varied problems.

The March On Washington Movement seeks to unify the efforts of all individuals and organizations proposing to bring about the betterment of Negroes and other minorities.

Respectfully submitted,

A. Philip Randolph,
National Director

E. Pauline Myers

E. Pauline Myers,
National Executive Secretary

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
NATIONAL DIRECTOR

E. PAULINE MYERS
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

B. F. McLAURIN
NATIONAL SECRETARY

March On Washington Movement

"Winning Democracy for the Negro is Winning the War for Democracy"

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
THERESA HOTEL BUILDING
2084 SEVENTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, N. Y.

MONUMENT 2-3350

440

My dear Friend:

Information has reached this office that you have already started a Local Unit of the March On Washington Movement or have become interested in starting such a Division. However, I am greeting you for the very first time as National Executive Secretary or General Organizer of the MOWM.

Since I came to office in January we have been fairly swamped with work; locating and setting-up a National Office, meeting with small groups and holding mass meetings and conferences to safeguard the Fair Employment Practices Committee, getting acquainted with members of the New York Local and drawing up plans for raising finance. We believe that the raising of finance is as important to our struggle as the education and action program because the winning of the fight for freedom and for democratic rights is costly and requires sacrifice and suffering. Negro Americans must learn to pay for that freedom themselves and not depend upon charity grants.

We are sending to you, under separate cover, material and data for organizing and setting into motion units of the March On Washington Movement. When you have taken the necessary preliminary steps of organization, we shall be glad to send you other information concerning our work.

Plans are moving ahead for our May Conference in Chicago. I shall be glad to hear from you concerning what you are doing.

Very sincerely yours,

E. Pauline Myers

E. Pauline Myers,
National Executive Secretary

EPM:c

PLANS FOR PERMANENT ORGANIZATION
of
MARCH ON WASHINGTON COMMITTEE

ARTICLE 1. The name of this organization shall be THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON COMMITTEE. This organization shall be anational one with small local or branch organizations wherever the population and need of the Negro people warrant one. The seat of the national office shall always be in New York City.

ARTICLE 2. The purpose of this organization shall be cited in the preamble.

ARTICLE 3. The composition of this organization --by that who shall be eligible for membership. This organization shall be a Negro organization open to membership to every Negro upon payment of ten (10¢) cents dues. Fifty percent of the dues are to be retained by the local or branch organization and the other fifty percent to be turned over to the National Office in New York.

ARTICLE 4. There shall be a National Organization, distinguished from the local or branch organizations. The National Organization shall consist of a National Chairman, National Secretary, National Treasurer and a National Executive Board of Directors. The National Executive Board shall be empowered to appoint a committee at large.

ARTICLE 5. Election and term of office.....Officers shall be elected at each regular convention and they shall hold office for two years. There shall be a biennial convention and officers shall be sworn in during the sessions of the conventions at which they are elected.

ARTICLE 6. Duties of officers .....The duties of the chairman--The National Chairman shall preside at all sessions of the National Organization. He shall perform his executive duties when convention is not in session. He shall exercise a general supervision of all affairs of the National Organization. The Chairman shall be chairman and ex-officio of the National Executive Board. He shall have authority to call special meetings. The National Chairman shall have the power to act and to decide on any emergency affecting the National Organization. The National Chairman shall have the power to appoint committees and Regional Directors.

ARTICLE 7. The duties of the Executive Secretary shall be to keep a true record of all proceedings of the National Organization. The Executive Secretary shall keep in regular contact with all of the local or branch organizations throughout the country. The Executive Secretary shall be custodian of all of the records and fixtures of the National Organization. The Executive Secretary shall submit a complete and regular report on all items of expenditure of funds and all vouchers submitted to the National Treasurer. The Executive Secretary shall receive all funds and collect all dues and shall deposit all such funds and dues with the Executive Treasurer. ~~who is to be bonded.~~ THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY SHALL BE BONDED.

ARTICLE 8. The duties of the Executive Treasurer.....The Executive Treasurer shall retain all funds and dues and upon proper authority shall pay all bills. All bills and funds must be paid by check. All checks must be signed and countersigned by the Executive Chairman and Executive Treasurer. The Executive Treasurer shall be bonded.

ARTICLE 9. The duties of the Executive Board of Directors....The National Executive Board of Directors shall consist of the National Chairman, National Secretary, National Treasurer. Additional members shall be chosen from Regional Directors and others not officers in a local or branch. The National Executive Board of Directors shall not be more than fifteen members nor less than nine members. This Executive Board shall act as an advisory council to the Executive Chairman when called upon or when a question of policy arises. The National Executive Board shall have the power upon its own motion to call the National Executive Chairman into consultation. The Board shall have access to books and accounts of the National Secretary and National Treasurer. The National Executive Board shall audit books and accounts of the Secretary and Treasurer once yearly, at least. The National Board with the National Chairman shall have the power and authority to administer the funds of the National Organization.

ARTICLE 10. There shall always be a quorum of

ARTICLE 11. The National Executive Committee is to be chosen geographically. The country is to be divided up either by Congressional areas statesor other methods.

ARTICLE 12. There shall be a Regional head over each geographical segment. This regional head shall report from time to time the functioning of the various locals or branches in his regional area. He shall be responsible for the remittance of funds from the locals to the National Organization.

ARTICLE 13. The locals or branches shall pattern their organization after the National Organization.

ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

MONDAY, OCTOBER 31, 1966

As to the 'Freedom Budget'

No doubt economy-minded citizens will reject out of hand the proposed $185,000,000,000 "freedom budget for all Americans" designed to end poverty in the United States in the next decade. But we think there is a good deal to be said for the plan, which was conceived by A. Philip Randolph, the Negro civil rights and labor leader, and worked out by a team of economists headed by Leon Keyserling, chairman of former President Truman's Council of Economic Advisers.

The money, which would be sought from Congress, would be used to attack the causes of poverty. The plan envisions a guaranteed annual income, increased welfare and Social Security payments, full employment, a rise in farm income, and health, housing and educational opportunities for all. Dr. Keyserling maintains the plan would not require new taxes or a reduction in the expenditures for the Viet Nam war but would be financed from projected "economic growth dividends" from the nation's Gross National Product over the next 10 years.

The plan is sponsored by a strong coalition of civil rights, religious and labor groups and an educational campaign has been started to enlist support. Mr. Randolph said in announcing the plan at a New York conference that it was directed toward improving the lives of more than 34,000,000 Americans, 75 per cent of whom are white. "The tragedy is that the workings of our economy so often pit the white poor against the black poor at the bottom of our society," he said.

Dr. Keyserling has been advocating measures of this nature for a long time, and there are many conservative economists who consider him impractical. But there is much more to this whole business than simply providing for human needs. As Theodore H. Kheel, the labor mediator, told the conference, the budget could be good for business as well as for the poor. "Today's outcast can be tomorrow's customer," he observed.

The plan will be brought to the attention of Congress early in the next session, and the nature of its sponsorship guarantees consideration. The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. has indicated that his Southern Christian Leadership Conference may organize demonstrations nationally to gain backing for the plan. It is important that Americans understand precisely what the proposal involves, so they will not be misled by false slogans. A good many people may find, perhaps to their surprise, that it makes sense.

MEMBERSHIP AND FINANCE CAMPAIGN

MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT

HOW THE CAMPAIGN WORKS

I. The campaign is organized in teams which consist of a captain and 25 lieutenants. Each lieutenant is pledged to bring in at least 10 members and twenty dollars. Each team quota is $450.00

2. Teams will compete for a trophy.

A. The trophy is selected by the captains

B. Rules for the contest are set-up by the competing captains

3. The Campaign is administered by the Major.

CAMPAIGN OBJECTIVES

1. To get 2000 members in New York City

2. To popularize the March On Washington Movement among the people

3. To raise a fund of money to carry the National and Inter-National program of the March On Washington Movement

HOW TEAMS WORK

1. It is the aim of each team to make it's quota and double it.

A. A captain may double his quota by increasing the number of lieutenants.

B. A captain may double his quota by having each lieutenant double his membership quota.

2. Each team holds individual team rallies and participates in a general team rallies.

3. It is the responsibility of each captain to stimulate his team to activity, to secure the quota, and to see that his team obeys and conforms to the rules of the contests.

CAPTAIN'S WORK

1. To decide upon an insignia to identify his team

2. To find a place to hold his team's rally

3. To work out an appropriate program for meetings to see that they are peppy and full of spirit.

Each Captain should hold at least three team rallies.

4. The Captain is responsible to see that each member of his team is present at general report meetings

5. The Captain is responsible to get all the money in by the last report meeting.

LIEUTENANT'S WORK

1. He sees that each prospective member signs the Pledge - Pays $1.00 for membership and gives $1.00 extra to promote the struggle for Negro rights and to promote the National program.

2. He may utilize the National Office by scheduling tours to the office for his members to hear the program explained by competent and informed persons.

3. He may invite his prospects to his home for Tea and invite a capable and informed person to explain to them the MOWM program.

MAJOR'S WORK

1. The Major is responsible to select good captains - and see to it that they obey the rules of the contest.

2. He is responsible to see that Captains hold team rallies and to assist captains in securing places to meet and competent persons to serve as interpreters of the program.

3. He is responsible to hold at least 3 general team rallies:

The first to start the campaign
The second to hear progress reports
The third to end the Campaign
and award the trophy

4. He is responsible to see that money is handled correctly - and that it is properly accounted for.

5. He is responsible to see that the program is properly interpreted at all times.

CONSTITUTION

of the

MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT

A National Organization

Article I.

N A M E

The name of this organization shall be the MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT.

Article II.

This Organization shall consist of a National Body and Local Units throughout the Country.

Article III.

Location of National Office

The site of the National Office shall be in New York City or such place as the National Executive Board shall designate.

Article IV.

Objectives

It shall be the object of the MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT to awaken, teach organize, mobilize, direct and lead the Negro masses to struggle and fight for their own liberation from racial discrimination, segregation and jim-crowism, and to obtain complete recognition and enjoyment of all democratic citizenship rights, freedom, justice and equality, and to co-operate and collaborate with progressive movements, social economic, political and religious, to help build a free world for free men without regard to race, color, religion or national origin.

Article V.

Membership

(a). Membership in this Organization shall be limited exclusively to Negroes.

(b). Any Negro desiring to become a member of this Organization, who believes in and subscribes to the ideas and ideals of the Movement shall be so considered upon payment of One ($1.00) Dollar, which sum shall represent also the annual dues for the first year.

(c). There is hereby declared to be one class of active membership with annual dues of One ($1.00) Dollar, three fourths (¾) of which shall be forwarded by the Treasurer of each local unit to the National Headquarters.

(d). Sustaining members shall consist of those who desire to contribute to the Organization, but who for recognized reasons are unable to become active.

(e). Upon recommendation of a majority of the membership of any local unit for cause shown, the names of members not adhering to the principles of the Organization, shall be referred to the National Executive Board for such action as they deem necessary.

Article VI.

Officers

The Officers of this Organization shall be a National Director, National Secretary and National Treasurer and a National Executive Board.

Article VII.

Election and Term of Office

Officers shall be elected at each regular Convention which shall be held at least every two (2) years, or at such times as in the discretion of the National Executive Board, such meeting shall be deemed necessary.

Officers shall be sworn in during the sessions of the Convention at which they are elected and shall serve for two (2) years or until their successors are elected.

Article VIII.

National Executive Board
Composition and Duties

There shall be a National Executive Board of twenty-one (21) members. The Board shall consist of the National Director, National Secretary, National Treasurer, three (3) members selected from each of the five (5) regional areas, to wit: North Atlantic, South Atlantic, Southern, Midwestern and Pacific, and three members-at-large.

The Board shall constitute the Executive and Administrative authority of the MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT. It shall have access to the books and accounts of the National Secretary and National Treasurer and shall audit such books and accounts at least once each year. It shall have the power to adopt rules and regulations governing the movement, providing they are not inconsistent with the Constitution.

A Quorum shall consist of at least seven members, representing at least three (3) regional areas, together with the National Director and either or both the National Secretary and Treasurer.

Regular meetings shall be held at least once each year or at such times as the National Director deems necessary.

Article IX.

Regional Areas

The United States for the purpose of convenience in organization, is hereby divided into five regional areas as set forth above. The divisions are as follows:

NORTH ATLANTIC: This shall consist of the following States:

Maine, Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Deleware, Pennsylvania, Maryland, District of Columbia.

SOUTH ATLANTIC: This shall consist of the following States:

North Carolina, South Carolina, West Virginia, Virginia, Georgia, Florida.

SOUTHERN: This shall consist of the following States:

Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisana, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Texas.

MIDWESTERN: This shall consist of the following states:

Minnesota, Michigan, Iowa, Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, and Kansas.

PICIFIC: This shall consist of the following States:

Washington, Oregon, California, Nevada, Idaho, Montana, New Mexico, Utah, Arizona and Colorado.

Article X.

Duties of the National Director

(a) He shall preside at all sessions of the National Organization.

(b) He shall perform his Executive duties when conventions are not in session.

(c) He shall exercise general supervision over all affairs of the National Organization, and together with the National Executive Board shall have Executive and Administrative control over the affairs of the National Organization when the Convention is not in session.

(d) He shall be Chairman of the National Executive Board.

(e) He shall have the authority to call special meetings of the National Executive Board.

(f) He shall have the power to appoint all Committees.

(g) In case of disability or absence of the National Director the National Executive Board shall designate one of their number to act as chairman.

(h) The National Director shall have the power to appoint an Assistant Director, National Executive Secretary, or Field Representative, with the consent and approval of the National Executive Board, when in his opinion the same shall be necessary or expedient. The duties of such Assistant Director or Field Representative or National Executive Secretary shall be perscribed by the National Director.

Article XI.

Duties of the National Secretary

(a) The National Secretary shall keep a true record of all proceedings of the National Organization.

(b) He shall keep in regular contact with the regional membership and each of the Units of the Movement.

(c) He shall be custodian of all the records and fixtures of the National Organization.

(d) He shall submit a complete and regular report of all items of receipt and expenditure of funds and all vouchers submitted to the National Treasurer.

(e) He shall deposit all funds received by him with the National Treasurer.

(f) He shall perform such other duties as are delagated by the National Executive Board.

(g) The National Secretary shall be bonded.

Article XII.

Duties of the National Treasurer

(a) He shall be the custodian of all fund of the Organization and in consultation with the National Executive Board shall determine the bank or trust company in which the funds are to be deposited.

(b) He shall upon proper authority pay all bills. No bills shall be paid except with the approval of and authorization of any two of the following officers: National Director, National Secretary and National Treasurer.

(c) The National Treasurer shall be Bonded.

Article XIII.

Structure

(a) The structure of the local organization shall consist of a nucleus of fifteen (15) informed and cause conscious individuals, throughly conversant with, and adherent to the idealogy, technique, and basic philosophy of the MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMent, whose duty and function shall be to inform and organize the masses in their repsective communities for direct action upon pertinent issues as they arise.

(b) Whenever fifteen (15) or more persons shall indicate in writing to the national Office their desire to organize a Unit of the movement, the National Office in consultation with the National Executive Board shall, in the exercise of its discretion, give authority for the establishment of such unit. The authority may be recalled at anytime by a majority vote of the National Executive Board.

(c) All Local Units hereafter established shall formulate, adopt, and forward to the National Office a copy of their proposed By-Laws within three (3) months after the granting of the authority of the Board to organize.

(d) Only one local unit of this Organization shall be established in each city. The general mass character of the Organization is retained. The emphasis will be upon the directing and activising of mass pressure, rather than the securing of a mass membership.

Article XIV.

Amendments

(a) Amendments to the Constitution may be proposed and acted upon at any meeting of the Organization in Convention assembled.

(b) Proposed Amendments to this Constitution may originate in the National Executive Board or in any Unit of the Movement or by petition of fifty or more members. Such proposed Amendments shall be submitted to the various units and when approved by a majority of these Units shall become a part of this Constitution and shall remain in full force and effect unless rejected at the First National Convention following their adoption.

THE ORIGINALLY PROPOSED CONSTITUTION
OF THE
MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT

ARTICLE 1. The name of this organization shall be THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT. This organization shall be a national one with small local or branch organizations wherever the population and need of the Negro people warrant one. The seat of the national office shall always be in New York City.

ARTICLE 2. The purpose of this organization shall be cited in the preamble.

ARTICLE 3. The composition of this organization: shall be a Negro organization open to membership to every Negro upon payment of ten (10¢) cents dues. Fifty percent of the dues are to be retained by the local or branch organization and the other fifty percent to be turned over to the National Office in New York.

ARTICLE 4. There shall be a National Organization, distinguished from the local or branch organizations. The National Organization shall consist of a National President, National Secretary, National Treasurer and a National Executive Board of Directors. The National Executive Board shall be empowered to appoint a committee at large.

ARTICLE 5. Election and term of office... Officers shall be elected at each regular convention and they shall hold office for two years. There shall be a biennial convention and officers shall be sworn in during the sessions of the convention at which they are elected.

ARTICLE 6. Duties of officers...The duties of the President..The National President shall preside at all sessions of the National Organization. He shall perform his executive duties when convention is not in session. He shall exercise a general supervision of all affairs of the National Organization. The President shall be chairman and ex-officio of the National Executive Board. He shall have authority to call special meetings. The National President shall have the power to act and to decide on any emergency affecting the National Organization. The National President shall have the power to appoint committees and Regional Directors, with the approval of the National Executive Board.

ARTICLE 7. The duties of the Executive Secretary shall be to keep a true record of all proceedings of the National Organization. The Executive Secretary shall keep in regular contact with all of the local or branch organization throughout the country. The Executive Secretary shall be custodian of all the records and fixtures of the National Organization. The Executive Secretary shall submit a complete and regular report on all items of expenditure of funds and all vouchers submitted to the National Treasurer. The Executive Secretary shall receive all funds and collect all dues and shall deposit all such funds and dues with the Executive Treasurer. The Executive Secretary shall be bonded. The Executive Treasurer shall perform other duties to him by the Executive Board.

ARTICLE 8. The duties of the Executive Treasurer....The Executive Treasurer shall retain all funds and dues and upon proper authority shall pay all bills. All bills and funds must be paid by check. All checks must be signed and countersigned by the Executive Chairman and Executive Treasurer. The Executive Treasurer shall be bonded.

ARTICLE 9. The duties of the Executive Board of Directors. The National Executive Board of Directors shall consist of the National Chairman, National Secretary, National Treasurer. Additional members shall be chosen from Regional Directors and others not officers in a local or branch. The National Executive Board of Directors shall not be more than fifteen members nor less than nine members. This Executive Board shall act as an advisory council to the Executive Chairman when called upon or when a question of policy arises. The National Executive Board shall have the power upon its own motion to call the National Executive Chairman into consultation. The Board shall have access to books and accounts of the National Secretary and National Treasurer. The National Executive Board shall audit books and accounts of the Secretary and Treasurer once yearly, at least. The National Board with the National Chairman shall have the power and authority to administer the funds of the National Organization.

ARTICLE 10. There shall always be a quorum of

ARTICLE 11. The National Executive Committee is to be chosen geographically. The country is to be divided up either by Congressional areas, states or other methods.

ARTICLE 12. There shall be a Regional head over each geographical segment. This regional head shall report from time to time the functioning of the various locals or branches in his regional area. He shall be responsible for the remittance of funds from the locals or branches to the National Organization.

ARTICLE 13. The locals or branches shall pattern their organization after the National Organization.

PROPOSALS OF THE
NEGRO MARCH*ON WASHINGTON COMMITTEES
TO
PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT
FOR
URGENT CONSIDERATION

POINT 1. An executive order forbidding the awarding of contracts to any concern, Navy Yard or Army Arsenal which refuses employment to qualified persons on account of race, creed or color. In the event that such discrimination continues to exist, the Gove nment shall take over the plant for continuous operation, by virtue of the authority vested in the President of the United States as Commander-in-chief of the armed forces and as expressed in the Proclamation declaring a state of limited national emergency, May 27, 1941.

Point 2. An executive order abolishing discrimination and segregation on account of race creed or color in all departments of the federal government.

POINT 3. An executive order abolishing discrimination in vocational and defense training courses for workers in National Defense whether financed in who.e or in part by the Federal Government.

POINT 4. An executive order abolishing discrimination in the Army, Navy, Marine, Air Corps, Medical Corps and all other branches of the armed services.

POINT 5. That the President ask the Congress to pass a law forbidding the benefits of the National Labor Relations Act to Labor Unions denying Negroes membership through Constitutional provosions, ritualistic practices or otherwise.

POINT 6. That the President issue instructions to the United States Employment Services that available workers be supplied in order of their registration without regard to race, dreed, or color

MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT

WHAT DO WE STAND FOR ?

National Headquarters
March On Washington Movement
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York City

Outline for pamphlet, "What Do We Stand For?"
.....

Pamphlet to be concise, not over 10 typed pages (6 printed pages). Not for mass propagandistic circulation, but for information of those already in or close to MOW, and for those who for one reason or another want to know in detail the MOW's stand on issues.
.....

Four main topics suggest themselves: (1) Position on the war, (2) Program and Tactics of MOW, (3) Philosophy of MOW, (4) Diffences between MOW and other approches to Negro problem.

(1) Position on the war.

a. When war began leaders of USA and England declared it was a war for democracy, against fascism and totalitarianism - Atlantic Charter - Four Freedoms - MOW agrees with these aims

b. Increasing signs, however, of late that present governments of USA-England are backing down on these aims, giving up idea of a principled crusade against totalitarianism. MOW cannot support a war that is simply an imperialist power-struggle, a national war between USA and Germany and Japan. No basis for any extension of democracy in USA in such a war - on contrary post-war effects will be reaction here and worsening of Negro's position.

c. Only way to resist present trend away from democratic war aims is to put up a fight inside USA for extension of democracy here and now - as Negroes we must fight for our rights and will do so - but issue broader: labor, general mass of people have big stake in this fight against jimcrow - best hope of the world for democratic outcome of the war lies in the mass of common people here and now insisting on extension of democracy - Negroes most oppressed and exploited group in country, hence have especially vital stake in this fight - if they lose, so does labor, so does common man — Negroes must lift banner of democracy and lead struggle for a better world.

d. MOW believes the colored, subject races of world must be freed - supports Gandhi's struggle to lift imperialist yoke from India - favors all native peoples of Asia and Africa being given back their own countries after the war - opposes all colonial and imperialist oppression whether by people with white skins or people with yellow skins - just a strongly opposed to Japanese totalitarianism as to Nazi totalitarianism.

(2) Program and tactic of MOW.

a. Program
Racial discrimination hits the American Negro today in three great fields, and MOW is working to advance the cause of democracy in each of them:

1. Jimcrow laws, regulations and customs in general - transportation, schools, colleges, restaurants, theatres, housing, etc. - here MOW projects this summer series of mass demonstrations on nationwide scale

2. Jimcrow in the armed services - special importance of this area today - here MOW has issued pamphlet, has held meetings on Lynn case, plans to bring all possible pressure on Congress and President to end this scandal

3. Jimcrow in employment - MOW originated on this issue - won Presidential Executive Order and FEPC - fight far from won, in fact now is being lost again - MOW ~~cooperating~~ testing in this fight now

b. Tactics

1. MOW believes in mass action by Negroes - not in 'educating high government officials or in deals and horse-trading negotiations - kind of 'education' it favors is educating Negroes how to act together, and educating their white friends among trade unions and liberal and religious bodies how to act with Negroes - tactics are those of a mass movement rather than a pressure group

2. Mass action does not mean violent action - MOW favors "non-violent direct action" on the Gandhi model - there will be violence unleashed against MOW, as in India, but this will be met with passive resistance. ~~so far as possible~~

(3) Philosophy of MOW

a. Believe basis for Negro discrimination is social and ecnomic, not racial - Negro not held down and oppressed because his skin is black; rather, color of his skin simply makes it easier for him to be singled out to do the world's dirty work - no natural basis for this kind of race prejudice - artificail growth nurtured by various exploiting groups for their own interests

b. Therefore Negro problem cannot be solved by itself - basic socail and economic problems of our age must be solved for any wide-scale and permanent improvement in the lot of the Negro to take place - MOW therefore favors all progressive democratic causes: trade unionism, higher wages, lower profits, generous unemployment relief, curbing of power of monopolists, social security, independent political action by labor, poor farmer, other exploited groups

Post-war planning program of National Planning Board

c. Negroes must take lead in fighting their own battle - cannot expect whites to do it for them - so although problems of Negroes and vast majority of whites are ultimately the same and must ultimately be solved by the same methods, MOW feels it is necessary now to develop leadership, self reliance among Negroes - therefore it limits membership to Negores because it thinks this is best way, at present, to insure against whites either using movement for their own political ends, as CP has done, or dominating it in an unhealthy way - MOW well aware of dangers of Negro racial chauvinism and wants to work with all white groups or individuals that are in sympathy with its program

(4) Differences between MOW and other Approaches to Problems of the Negro in USA

a. MOW and New Deal - no more faith in Roosevelt - his commitments to Southern Democrats - has yielded concessions to Negroes only when forced by overwhelming pressure - MOWM would support any move towards a farmer-labor party - no confidence in Republicans either

Old political parties bankrupt - Democratic and Republican parties no longer as liberal as concerned as Wallace and Wilkie

b. MOWM distinguished from other Negro groups, like NAACP and Urban League, in that it aspires to be a mass movement and looks for its support among the great mass of working class and rural Negroes. Favors bolder, more direct action than other Negro organizations do - also much more sceptical about Roosevelt. Feels fight for Negro rights must be conducted on a much broader, more political basis than they do. Not enough to fight isolated instances of injustice, not enough to do research and educational work - though of course MOW wholly approves such activities of its fellow Negro organizations, as far as they go.

Some

c. MOWM and Communist Party - reasons for thinking that CP subordinates Negro interesto to its political line of moment - experience of Randolph as head of National Negro Congress - CP is simply American agent of the Kremlin dictatorship, has no real connection with US labor movement or with the struggle of US Negroes - in this war CP is willing to sabotage every effort of Negroes or others to fight for democratic rights, if the CP thinks this fight interferes in any way with the war effort - CP is today more reactionary, in its attitude towards the democratic struggles of Negroes than such Republicans as Wendell Wilkie - MOWM firmly and permanently opposed to CP, and opposed to permitting individuals who belong to CP to also belong to MOWM

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

SUBJECT FILE March On Washington Movement
Printed Matter

1941 - ~~[illegible]~~ 44

(1)

enjoys a merited contempt." And I myself had no intention of entering into a polemic with flunkeys when ahead lay a struggle with their masters. Extremely unworthy was the conduct of the secretary of the National Confederation of Labor, Lombardo Toledano. Political dilettante and a lawyer by profession, alien to the working class and the revolution, this gentleman visited Moscow in 1935 and returned thence, as is befitting, an altruistic "friend" of the USSR. Dimitrov's report to the Seventh Congress of the Comintern on the policy of the "People's Front"—this document of theoretical and political prostration was hailed by Toledano as the most important production since the Communist Manifesto. From the time of my arrival in Mexico, this gentleman has been slandering me all the more unceremoniously since my non-intervention in the internal life of the country assures him complete immunity in advance. The Russian Mensheviks were genuine knight-errants of the revolution compared to such ignorant and pompous careerists!

Among the foreign journalists, Kluckhohn, correspondent of the *New York Times*, immediately distinguished himself. Under the pretext of an interview, he several times attempted to subject me to a police cross-examination. It is not difficult to understand what sources inspired this zeal. As regards the Mexican section of the Fourth International, I announced in the press that I cannot assume any responsibility for its work. I value my new haven too much to permit myself any kind of incaution. At the same time, I warned my Mexican and North American friends to expect absolutely exceptional measures of "self-defense" on the part of the Stalinist agents in Mexico and the United States. In the struggle for its international "reputation" and power, the ruling clique in Moscow will stop at nothing. And least of all at the expenditure of tens of millions of dollars for the purchase of human souls.

The Second Moscow Trial

I do not know whether Stalin felt any hesitation about arranging a new trial. I believe he must have hesitated. My departure for Mexico, however, must have ended his hesitation immediately. It now became necessary, at any cost, and as soon as possible, to drown the forthcoming revelations by the sensation of new accusations. Preparation of the Radek-Piatakov case was begun as far back as the end of August. As could have been foreseen, Oslo was this time chosen as the operating base of the "conspiracy." For it was necessary to facilitate for the government of Norway my deportation from that country. But into the geographical outline of the frame-up, which had already become antiquated, were hastily sketched new and fresh elements. Through Vladimir Romm, you see, I endeavored to acquire the secrets of the Washington government, while through Radek I was preparing to supply Japan with oil in the event that Japan went to war with the United States. Only because it lacked sufficient time, did the GPU find it impossible to arrange for me a meeting with Japanese agents in the Mexican park of Chapultepec.

On the 19th came the first dispatch regarding the impending trial. On the 21st I answered it with an article which I consider it necessary to reproduce here. On the 23rd, the trial began in Moscow. Again, as in August, we lived through a week of nightmare. Despite the fact that, after last year's experience, the mechanism of the affair was clear beforehand, the impression of moral horror increased rather than decreased. The dispatches from Moscow seemed like insane ravings. It was necessary to re-read each line several times to force oneself to believe that behind these ravings were living men.

With some of these men I was intimately acquainted. They were no worse than other people. On the contrary, they were better than a great many. But they were poisoned with falsehood and then crushed by the totalitarian apparatus. They lie against themselves to enable the ruling clique to cover others with lies. Stalin has set himself the goal of forcing mankind to believe in impossible crimes. Again one had to ask himself: Is mankind really so stupid? Of course not. But the thing is that the frame-ups of Stalin are so monstrous that they likewise seem impossible crimes.

How can one convince mankind that this apparent "impossibility" is in fact an ominous reality? The struggle is being waged with unequal weapons. On the one side—the GPU, the court, the press, the diplomats, the hired agentry, journalists of the Duranty type, attorneys of the Pritt type. On the other—an isolated "accused" who has hardly torn himself free from a socialist jail, in an alien, distant land, without a press or resources of his own.

Nevertheless, I did not for a moment doubt that the almighty organizers of the amalgam were heading for disaster. The spiral of Stalin's frame-ups, which has already succeeded in embracing far too large a number of people, facts and geographical points, continues to extend. It is impossible to fool everybody. Not all want to be fooled. The French League for the Rights of Man, with its virginal president Victor Basch, is of course capable of respectfully swallowing a second and a tenth trial, just as it swallowed the first. But facts are stronger than the patriotic zeal of the dubious champions of "right." Facts will clear a path for themselves.

Already in the course of the court proceedings I transmitted to the press a number of documentary refutations and posed to the Moscow court a number of precise questions which by themselves destroy the most important testimony of the accused. But the Moscow Themis not only blindfolded her eyes— she also put cotton in her ears. Naturally, I did not expect that my revelations would have any immediate wide effect. My technical possibilities for that are far too limited. The immediate task consisted in providing a factual point of support for the thought of the most penetrating minds, and to provoke criticism, or at least doubts, among the next layer. Having conquered the minds of the select, truth would unfold further and further. In the long run, the spiral of truth would prove stronger than the spiral of frame-up. Everything that has transpired since that nightmarish week at the end of January has only confirmed my optimistic expectations.

The Negro March on Washington

***By* ALBERT PARKER**

A committee of prominent Negroes, headed by A. Philip Randolph, President of the Brotherhood of Pullman Porters, is now engaged in furthering a march on Washington, which is scheduled to take place on July 1st.

Randolph has correctly described the national industrial and military situation:

"The whole National Defense Set-up reeks and stinks with race prejudice, hatred and discrimination . . .

"Responsible committees of Negroes who seek to intercede in behalf of the Negro being accorded the simple right to work in industries and on jobs serving National Defense and to serve in the Army, Navy and Air Corps, are given polite assurance that Negroes will be given a fair deal. But it all ends there. Nothing is actually done to stop discrimination.

"It seems to be apparent that even when well-meaning, responsible, top government officials agree upon a fair and favorable policy, there are loopholes, and subordinate officers in the Army, Navy and Air Corps, full of race hatred, who seek its contravention, nullification and evasion."

Randolph has had to recognize the impotence and weaknesses of the current Negro leadership and their methods, even though he has many words of praise for them:

"Evidently, the regular, normal and respectable method of conferences and petitions, while proper and ought to be continued as conditions warrant, certainly don't work. They don't do the job."

And, on the same theme, in another article:

"Negroes cannot stop discrimination in National Defense with conferences of leaders and the intelligentsia alone. While conferences have merit, they won't get desired results by themselves."

Randolph states the need for organization and action by the Negro masses:

"Power and pressure do not reside in the few, the intelligentsia, they lie in and flow from the masses. Power does not even rest with the masses as such. Power is the active principle of only the organized masses, the masses united for a definite purpose."

And then he calls for action in the form of a march of 10,000 Negroes to Washington:

"On to Washington, ten thousand black Americans! Let them swarm from every hamlet, village and town; from the highways and byways, out of the churches, lodges, homes, schools, mills, mines, factories and fields. Let them come in automobiles, buses, trains, trucks and on foot. Let them come though the winds blow and the rains beat against them, when the date is set. We shall not call upon our white friends to march with us. There are some things Negroes must do alone. This is our fight and we must see it through. If it costs money to finance a march on Washington, let Negroes pay for it. If any sacrifices are to be made for Negro rights in national defense, let Negroes make them. If Negroes fail this chance for work, for freedom and training, it may never come again. Let the Negro masses speak!"

Why We Support the March

The Socialist Workers Party, the Trotskyist movement in this country, was among the first to hail the progressive character of the proposal to march on Washington.

It should be obvious, however, that our support of a march on Washington does not depend on any of Randolph's ideas at all. We support a militant action, not Randolph's reasons for it. We do this in the same way that we would support a strike of the union of which Randolph is president, in spite of our sharp differences with Randolph on many basic questions.

That is to say, our support of the march, while full and wholehearted, is not uncritical. We feel it our duty, as part of our fight for full social, economic and political equality for the Negroes, to indicate mistakes and shortcomings where we see them, and to urge Negro militants to correct them.

Randolph says again and again in his articles: "Let the masses speak." But the masses had nothing to say about the composition of the Committee or its functions. This Committee has taken on itself the sole right of determining the slogans to be used and the work to be done in Washington.

A representative conference should have been called together before the final plans were adopted. At such a conference, representatives of different organizations that want to participate in the march could have worked out policy and strategy and elected a leading committee. This would have enabled participating organizations to help work out the policy, instead of putting them in a position, as Randolph has done, where they have only the choice of carrying out the Randolph Committee's decisions or just not participating. Such a conference would have increased not only the publicity for the march, but it would also have improved the morale of those participating. The Negro workers would then really have felt that this was *their* march; something that is not truly accomplished by the mere device of excluding white workers.

Nor can Randolph object that "there wasn't time for that; we'd have wasted valuable time." This is not true. There was plenty of time for it between the time Randolph first presented the proposal in January and the time the hand-picked Committee issued the call in May.

Furthermore, at the time this is written, during the first week in June, less than a month before the march is to take place, there is no evidence that the masses, even on the eastern seaboard, have yet been reached and aroused by the organizers of the march. Most workers haven't even heard about it.

It is to be hoped that, in spite of the slow beginning, the masses and especially the workers in the trade unions, will be mobilized to support the march during the weeks that still remain. The Socialist Workers Party is doing what it can to influence advanced workers to participate in this action. But if the march fails because of lack of support from the workers, it will be directly attributable to the bureaucratic organization of the whole affair.

In spite of many militant words, the Committee's "Call To Negro America" suffers from the same half-heartedness that has characterized the other attempts by "respectable" Negro leaders to win concessions.

Certainly one of the key questions to be faced by any movement is the question of the war and the capitalist demand for "National Unity." The exploiters mean that the workers should stop asking for higher wages and better conditions until the war is over. For the Negroes "National Unity" means suspension of the fight for equal rights until after the war is over.

The Randolph Committee has no forthright answer to this question. Instead, it says:

"But what of national unity? We believe in national unity which recognizes equal opportunity of black and white citizens to jobs in national defense and the armed forces, and in all other institutions and endeavors in America. We condemn all dictatorships, Fascist, Nazi and Communist. We are loyal, patriotic Americans, all.

"But, if American democracy will not defend its defenders; if American democracy will not protect its protectors; if American democracy will not give jobs to its toilers beause of race or color; if American democracy will not insure equality of opportunity, freedom and justice to its citizens, black and white, it is a hollow mockery and belies the principles for which it is supposed to stand."

Why all those ifs? Don't the Committee's members know very well what is going on? Is there any real doubt in their minds as to exactly what is happening to the Negro? Hidden behind the ifs is a potential surrender of the fight for the rights of the Negro people. The bosses will think: "Never fear; this is only another bunch of people who are urging us to be good, but who are pledging their loyalty in advance."

Because the Committee is afraid to take an out-and-out

position on this question, it weakens the effectiveness of the march. There can be only one correct answer to "National Unity": unity of the Negroes with the white worker against their common enemy and exploiter.

This is not the only instance of the Call for the march making concessions to the ideas looked on with favor by the ruling class. In another place it says:

"However we sternly counsel against violence and ill-considered and intemperate action and the abuse of power. Mass power, like physical, when misdirected, is more harmful than helpful.

"We summon you to mass action that is orderly and lawful, but aggressive and militant, for justice, equality and freedom.

"Crispus Attucks marched and died as a martyr for American independence. Nat Turner, Demark Vesy, Gabriel, Harriet Tubman and Frederick Douglass fought bled and died for the emancipation of Negro slaves and the preservation of American democracy."

Our criticism of this section of the Call should not be mistaken to mean that the Socialist Workers Party is in favor of "ill-considered and intemperate action" or anything of the kind. Not at all.

But who is served by this reassurance that everything is going to be nice and respectable and within the "lawful" bounds established by the ruling class and its anti-labor, Jim Crow legislatures and courts?

If we are going to talk about history, let us talk about it correctly. Did King George the Third think that Crispus Attucks' action was "lawful"? Did the slaveholders of Virginia think that Nat Turner was "orderly"?

The trouble is that the Randolph Committee members are too much concerned about what the powers that be may think about them. And as long as that is true, they lead a half-hearted fight, in spite of all their talk about agressiveness and militancy.

What Shall the Marchers Demand?

The central demand of the Committee is that Roosevelt issue an executive order abolishing discrimination in all government departments, the armed forces and on all jobs holding government contracts. This Roosevelt will be asked to do when he is asked to address the marchers. The local demonstrations are supposed to ask their city councils to memorialize the president to issue such an order.

To fully understand this proposal, one should read the article written by Randolph himself, explaining the theory behind this demand. Printed in the April 12th *Afro-American*, it began this way:

"President Roosevelt can issue an executive order tomorrow to abolish discrimination in the Army, Navy, Air Corps, Marine, and on all defense contracts awarded by the Federal Government, on account of race or color, *and discriminations against colored people would promptly end.*" (Our emphasis).

If Randolph's statement means anything at all, it means that discrimination and segregation continue to exist in the government, the armed forces and in industry, only because the President hasn't issued an order abolishing discrimination and segregation.

Can Randolph really believe that? He must know that Jim Crowism does not depend for its existence on the lack of executive orders abolishing it. Jim Crowism exists because it serves the interests of the capitalist ruling class to keep the working class divided and split along racial lines.

We are ready to support the Randolph Committee's demand for President Roosevelt to issue an executive order abolishing discrimination. To force him to issue such an order would be a step forward in the struggle for abolition of racial discrimination. But only a step. Roosevelt's executive order would not be so very much more weighty than the laws and rulings and orders already on the books prohibiting discrimination. In spite of them, Jim Crow rides high.

Randolph should recall one of the statements he made when he first called for the march: "...even when...top government officials agree upon a fair and favorable policy, there are loopholes, and subordinate officers in the Army, Navy, and Air Corps, full of race hatred, who seek its contravention, nullification, and evasion."

How can Randolph square his January statement with his statement in April that a presidential decree would "promptly" end discrimination?

An executive order abolishing discrimination would remain largely on paper, as long as control of industry, military training and the government remain in the hands of the enemies of the Negroes.

A movement that denies these facts or tries to ignore them cannot successfully lead the struggle for full equality. A movement that shuts its eyes or refuses to open them is good only for sleeping.

The Workers, Black and White, Must Control

Negroes must fight for more than a presidential executive order. They must fight for a program that will take control out of the hands of the enemies of the Negro people.

Employers controlling the war industries won't hire Negroes? Then have the government take those industries over, and let them be managed and operated without discrimination by committees elected by the workers!

Negroes need military training in this epoch when all major questions are decided arms in hand. But the army bureaucrats are bitterly anti-Negro and determined to "keep them in their place." Therefore, Negroes must join the fight for military training, financed by the government but under control of the trade unions, based on full equality for the Negroes!

The government and the capitalist parties aid the bosses in segregating and discriminating against the Negro people, refusing to pass such elementary legislation as punishing lynching and granting the Negroes in the South the right to vote. Therefore aid in the formation of an independent labor party pledged to carry on the Negroes' struggles. An independent labor party pledged to establish a Workers' and Farmers' Government that would create a new society that would forever abolish poverty, war and racial discrimination!

Such a program, aimed at putting control of their destiny into the hands of the workers themselves, black and white—in military training, in industry, in politics—this *must* become the program of the militant Negro workers. This is the road to jobs and equality.

The Negro misleaders will say that this program is impractical and utopian. That is what Uncle Tom said about freedom for the slaves.

But the fighting program we propose is infinitely more realistic than expecting Roosevelt—the partner of the Southern Democrats, ally of the British Empire which oppresses Negroes on every continent—to abolish discrimination.

The Socialist Workers Party supports the march on Washington. We call on the negro workers to bring forward in the march a really militant program. If this is done, the march on Washington, whatever its immediate results, would serve to be an important stage in the fight to change the world.

WAKE UP, NEGRO AMERICA!

"Winning Democracy for the Negro Is Winning the War for Democracy."

Stand Upon Your Feet and Mobilize! Organize! and Fight for
Equal Rights • Equal Opportunity • In Our Country

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that Negro blood segregation by Red Cross be discontinued.
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1942

OUR Fight

THE INTERRACIAL CLUB

360 WEST 125 STREET, NEW YORK CITY

Vol. I No. 4
May 20, 1942

SUPPORT ~~MARCH~~ MOVEMENT

By Charles E. Littlejohn

The March on Washington Movement is a Negro mass movement to get full democratic rights for Negroes. In the early spring of 1941, one of its founders, A. Phillip Randolph, called upon the Negro masses to march on Washington in order to secure jobs in war industry.

The March on Washington was called off because Mr. Randolph thought he secured his aims and purposes through negotiating with President Roosevelt, Secretary Knox and Sec. Stimson. In these negotiating he asked for an executive order, that Negroes be hired in war industry.

This executive order has meant nothing but empty words to the Negro because we are now being discriminated against in the worst form possible. So the March on Washington Movement has again come into existence.

The March on Washington Committee has planned a mass meeting June 16 at Madison Square Garden in order to arouse sentiment to secure equal rights for Negroes in the Army, Navy and in the war industries.

By Winston Olton

After a brief period of inactivity the March on Washington movement is again marshalling its forces for an advance to the fray. This renewed activity portends many and great achievements which must be realized.

Upon a close examination of the objectives of the movement, a large field of endeavor, of wide scope and potentialities unfolds. For here, at long last, is a movement which among other things ought to produce that type of leadership and organization so lamentably lacking in the past.

This movement is identified with the masses of Negroes offering an opportunity for every Negro to engage militantly, in the fight for liberation. It thus adopts a means by which some measure of success can be assured in bringing about full and equal democratic rights for Negroes.

It could be a movement for channelizing the latent power of militant mass pressure. Therefore the Interracial Club endorses and supports this movement.

This issue of "OUR FIGHT" is devoted, in general, to the problems of Negroes with regard to the March on Washington Movement and, in particular, with the problems of Negro working men and women, who represent the most oppressed economic group in the United States.

MARCH ON WASHINGTON!

WE NEED JOBS

By Charles E. Littlejohn

Promises have meant nothing. Today the Negro is still faced with every form of discrimination.

He is faced with hunger and the problem of a job so much until today he is getting filled with hate and contempt. He is asking what can be done to get a job in a defense plant. What is the solution to this constant economic problem?

We are citizens of this country. It is the only home we knew. Why are we treated so unjustly? We are discriminated against in the Army and Navy. We can only secure jobs as messmen in the Navy. Others of us are shot, killed--treated like everything but human beings. Are we not to be treated as all other citizens? I say SOMETHING MUST BE DONE; SOMETHING WILL BE DONE!

Let's not stop at a mass meeting in Madison Square Garden. THERE MUST BE A MARCH ON WASHINGTON. A March on Washington will help tear down this barrier. It will help put a stop to these unjust and malicious assaults upon our people and will help gain for us rights as American citizens.

We of the Interracial Club are with you. We are supporting the mass meeting at Madison Square Garden.

The colonial peoples - in Africa, in India are looking at you with enthusiasm and hope. THERE MUST BE A MARCH ON WASHINGTON. This is the only way that all-America and all the world can have their eyes opened to the injustice we suffer.

WE DEMAND JOBS

By Katherine Leonard

Millions of jobs will be open during 1942 and 1943 in the war industries. Negro men and women demand their share of these jobs. A March on Washington will prove that we are insistent in our demand and need.

When the country hears the TRAMP! TRAMP! TRAMP! of Negro workers marching, all America will sit up and take notice.

EMPLOYERS WILL NO LONGER DARE TO FOLLOW SO CASUALLY THE POLICY OF HIRING WHITES ONLY.

THE GOVERNMENT WILL REALIZE THAT NEGROES ARE SERIOUS ABOUT WANTING HUNDREDS AND THOUSANDS OF JOBS - not just a few penalties and fines against discrimination that war profiteering employers can easily afford to pay.

WHITE WORKERS WILL HAVE THEIR EYES OPENED TO THE INJUSTICE RAMPANT IN THIS NATION where 13,000,000 Negroes bear the worst brunt of unemployment during periodic depressions and poorly paid jobs during war-time booms.

THIS MARCH WILL WAKE UP ALL AMERICA

ALL - AMERICA NEEDS TO BE TOLD!

NEGROES DEMAND THEIR SHARE OF WAR-TIME JOBS!

FOR A MARCH ON WASHINGTON !

ON - ON - ON TO WASHINGTON BACKED BY 13,000,000!

NEGRO WORKERS! WAKE UP ALL AMERICA!

EDITORIAL

JOBS DEMANDS MOST VITAL

Every Negro and every progressive white is revolted and aroused to just anger by the bloody acts of discrimination which have recently demonstrated to Negroes over and over again that their fight for democracy begins at home.

FIGHT FOR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS AT HOME!

The March on Washington Committee rightly demands an end to these Jim Crow outrages. Good! But to fight against an outrage we must also understand its cause. Why are the Negroes the most oppressed group - the group most discriminated against in the United States. The reason is basically this. Negroes are kept oppressed so that they can be forced to work for low wages. Those who force the Negroes to work for low wages - the employers - make more profit every time the y pay less wages. And when wages are kept low for one group - in this case, the Negroes, wages can also be kept low for all workers. It is the old story of divide and rule. The employers stir up race hatred between white workers and Negro workers. In this way they can keep at a high pitch the competition between these two groups of workers who are both trying to get a living wage.

REMEMBER SIKESTON!

When, as in the case of Sikeston, the employers fear that the white and Negro workers will organize to fight together for a decent living wage, they lynch a Cleo Wright to inflame Negro workers against white workers and white workers against Negro workers.

REMEMBER ALEXANDRIA!

But why, it may be asked, is race discrimination practiced in the armed forces. Why do Army and Navy officials segregate Negro soldiers and sailors from white soldiers and sailors. Why are Negros permitted into the Navy only in the most menial jobs. The answer is the same. The Army and Navy are run by government officials who are sensitive to the needs and desires of the employers, a group that thrives on division and segregation. They are afraid that solidarity in military ranks will continue into the factory, plant and union. That is the basic reason why pogroms have been unleashed against Negro soldiers in the South and North.

PUT THE MAIN STRESS ON JOBS!

The fight for equal jobs for Negroes is the most effective weapon against Jim Crow. When the March on Washington Committee demands equal jobs for Negroes, it makes the demand for the most important and fundamental need of the Negro workers. For when the Negro and white workers work together in the shops and in the unions, the deliberate efforts of employers to separate them by social and military discrimination will no longer be possible.

TO GET THESE JOBS EN MASSE, THE NEGROES MUST MOVE EN MASSE!

TODAY THAT MEANS A MILITANT MASS MARCH ON WASHINGTON!

G.S.

SHOULD WHITES PARTICIPATE

IN THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT?

PRO

The Negro is a minority group in the U.S. As such, in the struggle for his rights - jobs, a living wage, social freedom - he must seek allies whose interests are the same as his own. These allies are the people who also work for a living and must fight for better living standards continually - the white working class. Many trade unions realize now that to work against the advancement of Negro rights is to seriously damage the rights of all workers. Acceptance of the Negro into trade unions has won recognition for him as a militant unionist, a good spokesman and leader- while non-acceptance has made him a potential scab.

By affiliating trade unions and other workers' organizations to the March on Washington Committee, vast numbers of white workers will be informed as to the acute necessity of winning immediate Negro demands and will fight alongside of the Negro for these demands.

CON

The March on Washington Committee is not an anti-white organization. It does not disavow the friendship of whites.

Nevertheless the Negroes must develop leaders from their own ranks who will speak directly for the great masses of Negro workers.

Moreover, the Negroes want to demonstrate to all the world that Negroes can build a mass movement of sizable proportions, power and strength.

The importance of uniting the Negro in an action to get his fundamental rights as a man <u>at present</u> supersedes the importance of having white organizations within the March on Washington committee.

Last year's response to the cry "MARCH ON WASHINGTON!" proves that the Negroes are eager to and can demonstrate for justice.

THE INTERRACIAL CLUB BELIEVES:

That in the long run, only the solidarity of white and colored workers, organizations, acting together, can achieve the objectives of the March on Washington movement-- political and economic rights for Negroes.

That especially if the March on Washington becomes more strongly organizedized and develops into a nation-wide mass movement of Negro workers, looking beyond local rallies, will it want and need the cooperation of white workers and workers organizations.

Nevertheless, the Interracial Club abides by the present ruling of the March on Washington Committee, excluding white participation, because we understand the reasons for this exclusion--and because we do not want the March on Washington Committee to be side-tracked into discussion or wrangling on this issue.

THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON COMMITTEE HAS THE MORE IMPORTANT JOB OF

ORGANIZING A MASS MARCH ON WASHINGTON

I.C. ACTIVITIES

The editorial board of Our Fight has been advised that on May 4, the Interracial Club sent a committee to Dr. Ervin, President of the March on Washington Committee to discuss ways and means whereby the Interracial Club could further help promote the aims of the March on Washington Committee. The Interracial Club asked to join the March on Washington Committee as a sponsoring body.

From the conversation with Dr. Ervin, the IC committee received the impression that the March on Washington Committee was disposed to accept the Interracial Club's sponsorship. Several days later, the Interracial Club proffered $10 as part of the sponsorship fee to Dr. Ervin.

Further discussion of this matter will soon be undertaken. It is hoped that the Interracial Club's sponsorship will be officially accepted by the March on Washington Committee.

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On Friday, May 15, Earl Brown of the staff of Time magazine, spoke to the Forum of the Interracial Club on the situation in the military camps of the South. Mr. Brown described the Alexandrian riots of January, 1942, as really a pogrom. This pogrom, Mr. Brown said, "occurred for one basic reason - because despite the 4 Freedoms that Roosevelt and Churchill speak of, the Southerners are determined to maintain the racial caste system. It is not a color problem but a caste problem. Caste is as important in the South as in India."

Mr. Brown went on to describe the Southern towns near the army camps where the business people "demonstrate their patriotism by making lots of dough from the soldiers. . ..The more dough they got, the more uppity they were in their attitude toward the Negroes."

The friction, Mr. Brown stated, was not so much between the white soldiers and the Negro soldiers as between such townspeople and the Negroes.

Mr. Brown also described Fort Benning in Georgia. There the Negro and white soldiers who are training to be officers are not segregated. Living together and working together, they soon learn that the color of a man is not important in determining his worth.

Attend the IC Forums every other Friday night - 8:30 at the clubrooms, 360 w. 125th st. You'll enjoy the lecture and the discussion that follows.

Join the Interracial club. Attend its business meetings where policies are formulated. We can all get together and develop the program of action so sorely needed among the Negro people today.

INTERRACIAL REVIEW

A JOURNAL FOR CHRISTIAN DEMOCRACY

The Madison Square Garden Rally

"Until the Four Freedoms are enjoyed by all Americans, irrespective of race, color, religion, or national origin, America is not a democracy and only a democracy can win this war for democracy. Only a democracy can win the peace for democracy. Only a democracy can keep the peace for democracy. America cannot assume the moral and spiritual leadership of world democracy until it becomes a democracy in fact and in truth; and America cannot become a true democracy until it eliminates and prohibits discriminations against any of its citizens because of race, color, religion or national origin."

—A. Philip Randolph, *President, March on Washington Movement*

•

Editorials • **Reviews** • **Statistics**

July, 1942 Price 10c

Castel Gandolfo, Oct. 27 (A.P.). — Pope Pius XII in the first Encyclical of his reign blamed "the denial of God" for leading the world to war and pleaded for peace today.
— *The New York Sun*

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☆

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☆

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INTERRACIAL REVIEW

Christian Democracy

Christian Democracy rejects artificial inequalities due to racial myths, material greed or physical violence and recognizes only such accidental inequalities as necessarily accompany human life at all times and in all places.

As the objective of the Catholic interracial program, we define Christian Democracy as a society in which the God-given dignity and destiny of every human person is fully recognized, in laws, government, institutions and human conduct.

POSTULATES

- The Catholic Interracial Program has a twofold aim: (1) the combating of race prejudice; (2) the attainment of social justice for the whole social group regardless of race.
- "Nothing does more harm to the progress of Christianity and is more against its spirit than . . . race prejudice amongst Christians. — There is nothing more widely spread in the Christian world." — *Jacques Maritain*
- "From the evidence on hand today, we cannot scientifically prove that the Nordic or the Negro is superior or inferior, one to the other." — *Rev. John M. Cooper*
- The interracial problem is the greatest world problem of today. It is the major threat to international peace. In America the interracial problem is one of grave national concern. It is perhaps the biggest problem confronting the Catholic Church in America.
- "Intolerance towards Negroes in the United States is perhaps the acme of the racial intolerance of modern nationalism." — *Carlton J. H. Hayes*
- The spiritual aspect of the Catholic interracial program flows from the common membership of all races in the Mystical body of Christ and the common expression of this unity in the Church's liturgy.
- Prejudice on the part of Catholic laity is a barrier to the conversion of the Negro and a trial to the new found Faith of the Negro convert.
- "We must concede that the natural rights of the Negro are identical in number and sacredness to the rights of white persons." — *Rev. Francis J. Gilligan, S.T.D.*
- Catholic principles maintaining the equality of all men and upholding the sanctity of the Negro's natural rights, impose upon all Catholics a rule of conduct which must be followed, regardless of any temporary inconveniences, apprehensions or difficulties that may be encountered.

July – 1942

Vol. XV No. 7

Editorials

THE VOICE OF THE NEGRO 99

Articles

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS 100
By Dr. Laurence M. Ervin

GOVERNMENT SETS PATTERN OF JIM CROW 101
By A. Philip Randolph

REMARKS BY DR. CHANNING H. TOBIAS 103

DEMOCRACY FOR ALL 104
By Walter White

THE NEW NEGRO 106
By Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune

THE SPIRITUAL FRONT 107
By John LaFarge, S.J.

REMARKS BY LESTER GRANGER 108

A NEW DAY 109
By Frank Crosswaith

Features

THE INTERRACIAL FIELD 98

NOTES FROM XAVIER UNIVERSITY 98

AS YOUTH SEES IT 110

PLAYS AND A POINT OF VIEW.. 111

FROM HERE AND THERE DURING THE MONTH 112

INTERRACIAL REVIEW

The INTERRACIAL REVIEW is published monthly at 20 Vesey Street, New York, N. Y. Ten cents per copy; one dollar per year.

Entered as second-class matter, November 13, 1934, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized January 28, 1929.

Address all communications regarding advertising to the INTERRACIAL REVIEW at the above address. Telephone, REctor 2-5417.

The Interracial Field

Interesting Statistics

Number of Negroes in U. S.	13,000,000
Estimated Number of Protestant Negroes	5,000,000
Estimated Number of Catholic Negroes	300,000
Estimated Number Unchurched	7,750,000
Number of Negroes Attending Colleges	23,038
Number of Catholic Negro Churches	282
Number of Catholic Negro Schools	263
Negro Enrollment in Catholic Schools	50,000
Priests Engaged in Colored Missions	450
Sisters Engaged in Colored Missions	1,600
Negroes in New York City	478,346
Negroes in Chicago	233,000
Negroes in Philadelphia	219,000
Negroes in Washington	132,068

Poll-Tax Called Undemocratic

"Southern Poll Tax must go!" the Southern Electoral Reform League declared in a statement issued last week. Explaining the issue, the league said:

"In order to have a wider democratic base under the Congressmen from the eight States in which the poll tax is prerequisite for voting, the Southern Electoral Reform League is seeking to abolish the poll tax for voting in Federal elections. Many of the Representatives from poll tax States are kept in power by the poll tax system, and, through the resulting seniority, hold most important committee posts. They too often use their strategic but undemocratically based power to block progressive legislation."

Twenty-Five Per Cent Vote

In these eight Southern States only 25.7 of the electorate voted in the 1940 presidential elections, while in the other 40 States the vote averaged 70.6 per cent.

National support of the move was urged by the leaders who stated: "We are waging a vigorous campaign against the poll tax on three fronts. State legislation and other signs of victory encourage us to redouble our efforts now in several key States. In Tennessee and Virginia the poll tax front is cracking. With your help we can turn this retreat of enemies of democracy into a victory for the people.

This is not only a National issue but is of transcendent importance today when we should set an example of faithfulness to democracy before the world."

—*Michigan Chronicle*

Notes From XAVIER UNIVERSITY

The First Catholic College for Negro Youth

The Xavier School of Social Service is now offering courses for under-graduate students. This is of particular interest at this time since there are many Federal and State civil service and private positions in the field of social service available to college graduates without the requirement of post-graduate credits. In every field, particularly, in the field of education, it is increasingly important for applicants for positions to know the basic principles of modern social work. The present emphasis on physical education in the development of national programs has opened up many new opportunities. Training and social service will be of inestimable value for those preparing for work in this field. Those who are employed as well as those who desire to be employed in semi-professional fields, such as insurance, sales, nursing, etc., will find this course of great value.

War Industry Courses

Beginning with the second period of the current Summer session of the University, courses in mechanical drawing, blue print reading and other related courses are being offered for the first time. Classes are open to both day and evening students and all persons—college, prep, and elementary school graduates—who are interested will be admitted to these classes.

The University is offering these classes to prepare essential defense workers for positions in the numerous defense industries where such training is needed.

Summer School

In order to meet the demands of the present war mergency, the University is offering students the opportunity of earning a semester's credit during the summer months. Many students have availed themselves of this unique opportunity although the possibility of lucrative jobs and the draft requirements has reduced the number of students who otherwise would have remained in school during the summer months. The present enrollment for the period is close to the four hundred mark.

Rev. Wm. M. Markoe, S.J., Founder, St. Elizabeth's Church, St. Louis, Mo.

INTERRACIAL REVIEW

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Editorial & Publication Office INTERRACIAL REVIEW 20 Vesey Street, New York, N. Y.

Published Monthly by the

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Vol. XV JULY, 1942 No. 7

THE VOICE OF THE NEGRO

For the first time in the history of the *Interracial Review* we are devoting the entire issue to a single event, the recent Madison Square Garden Rally of the MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT. We decided to do this because the present attitude of the American Negro is, in the words of Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune, "a new experience for America."

The most significant thing about the Rally is the fact that this historic gathering was genuinely American. The leaders of the movement have no spiritual, intellectual, or political ties or communications with and foreign land ideology. It is significant too, that these leaders rejected both the advice and the financial support of alien radical parties. It is edifying to know that the Garden Rally was denounced by both the Stalinist and the Trotskyite factions of the Communist party.

The voice of the American Negro, expressing the hopes and aspirations of thirteen million loyal Americans is a challenge to all citizens. It was a brave and forthright appeal for a fair share of the blessings of democracy.

He is indeed blind to the changing international scene who does not recognize that today there is a new evaluation of democracy. Throughout the world the scene and pattern are changing rapidly. The voices of peoples and races, long silent, in despair of their future progress, are today articulate—demanding freedom, justice, and equality for all.

We believe democracy now has a profounder meaning both here and abroad than ever before. There can be no turning back. The old order has definitely passed. The course is forward. Pagan nationalism, racism—the ideology of superior peoples—imperialistic domination and the ancient colonial policy of keeping backward peoples backward must never return. Democratic voices everywhere are outspoken in demanding a world order based on the ideal of

liberty and justice for all nations *and for all peoples.*

Surely, the MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT marks a turning point in the history of democracy. This is why we decided to publicize the outstanding addresses delivered on this historic occasion.

Introductory Remarks by Dr. Laurence M. Ervin

Honored guests, ladies and gentlemen. The New York Division of the March on Washington Movement, together with the City-Wide Planning Committee, has called this gigantic mass meeting, with the knowledge that democracy renews its strength by continued education as to its meaning and purposes. We take our democracy seriously, for we know its purpose to be the long-time interest, welfare and happiness of all peoples, regardless of race, creed, color or national origin; and not merely for the self-appointed few, or for those who, for various reasons in the past, have been previously privileged. We know that it respects the personality of every individual, whatever his origin or station in life. We know it should develop in him a sense of belongingness, and assure him the maximum development so as to be useful for the best interest of all in our Government. We feel that those in control of this Democracy should furnish every boy and every girl an environment that will provide opportunity for stimulating, encouraging and directing them to respect themselves, and to make the best of his or her own natural gifts, so that he or she may develop his or her own unique personality. We Negroes of America bow to the dictum that, as a minority we must of necessity, for the general good, conform to the approved program of the majority. But we also know it to be our inalienable rights to peacefully assemble, and to agitate for desired changes that may affect our social, political and economic welfare. We Negroes want to have an assurance that this country gives to us all the rights, privileges, protection, emoluments, accorded to any other of its citizens. In other words, we want to belong to this Democracy.

The failure of democratic principles to function for the Negro masses presents a challenge that cannot go unanswered. To that end we have here assembled the national leaders of the Negro people, and we will call upon them to give expression to our demands for the complete integration of Negroes in all of the economic, social, political and spiritual institutions of our beloved country.

It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this, for this mass meeting gives us the opportunity to mobilize every man, woman and child in the struggle for liberation. It is the best way to put backbone, courage and the will to fight, in the Negro people, against misrule and discrimination; for mass action is a modern mechanism of power. And we want by this means to rouse the Negro people to fight for their democratic rights during the war; and to place the cause of the Negro into the main stream of public opinion now. We hold that if black boys, in the uniform of their country, are to go, and to fight, and to die for Democracy in the Philippine Islands, in Corregidor, Burma, Australia and the Dutch East Indies, then they should have Democracy in Alexandria, Louisiana; Sikeston, Missouri; Fort Bragg, North Carolina; Camp Dix, New Jersey; and New York City. We are not against this war. We repudiate with all of our being, the philosophy of a Hitler of Germany: a Mussolini of Italy; a Hirohito of Japan; but we also despise with all our souls the philosophy of a Rankin and a Bilboa of Mississippi; a "Cotton" Ed Smith of South Carolina; a Talmadge of Georgia; a Connally of Texas; a Smith of Virginia; and a Westbrook Pegler of New York City.

Ladies and gentlemen, I shall burden you no longer. Let our leaders speak!

WHO'S WHO

Dr. Laurence M. Ervin, Chairman of the Madison Square Garden Rally, is President of the March On Washington Movement.

Mr. A. Philip Randolph, a prominent Negro leader, is National Director of the March On Washington Movement.

Dr. Channing H. Tobias is the National Director of the Colored division Y.M.C.A.

Dr. Walter White is Executive Secretary of the National Association For the Advancement of Colored People. He is the leader in the fight for a Federal Anti-Lynching law.

Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune is President of the Bethune-Cookman College, Daytona, Fla. Dr. Bethune is Director of the Negro Youth Division of the N.Y.A.

Rev. John LaFarge, S.J., is Executive Editor of "America" and Chaplain of the Catholic Interracial Council.

Mr. Lester H. Granger is Executive Director of the National Urban League. His home is in Brooklyn.

GOVERNMENT SETS PATTERN OF JIM-CROW

By A. Philip Randolph

We have the disgraceful and dangerous spectacle of the Federal Government setting the pattern and pace of Jim-Crow, segregation and discrimination based upon race and color in America. Our own Government is officially freezing and perpetuating the status of inferiority of its own citizens because of color and race. And let me warn you, if Jim-Crow and segregation are permitted to become the pattern and way of life of Negro Americans, Negroes as a minority group are through in this country.

The South is in the saddle in the Nation's Capitol. The ranking secretaries of the President are Southerners. The chairman of the most powerful committees of the House and Senate are Southerners.

I would not by any means imply that all Southerners are anti-Negro. Far from it. You have only to refer to such statesmen of the South as Dr. Graham, President of the University of North Carolina, Mark Ethridge and the Agars of the Louisville Courier Journal, Aubrey Williams of the National Youth Administration, Clark Foreman, Will Alexander and a number of others. But it is a matter of common knowledge that these men do not control and shape the opinion and affairs of the South as yet. The opinion and affairs of the South are controlled and shaped by Senator Tom Connally and Congressman Martin Dies of Texas, Senator Ellender of Louisiana, Senator "Cotton Ed" Smith of South Carolina, Howard Smith of Virginia, the Talmadges and Coxes of Georgia and a host of little violent and virulent Negro-phobists who wave the bloody shirt and preach the false, inflammatory doctrine of Negro domination, for economic and political advantage.

How can the Government tell trade unions and business that they should not jim-crow and discriminate against Negroes when it jim-crows and discriminates against Negroes itself. This is why the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice is faced with a big and difficult job. Trade unions and businesses that discriminate against Negroes can very well thumb their noses at the Government and say, "clean out your own house first before you tell us to clean out ours."

Realizing the function of the President was one of constantly balancing pressures and that he would inevitably move in the direction of the pressure of the greatest challenge, plans were mapped to build up the pressure of 100,000 Negroes marching on Washington. We planned the March to be all Negroes because we wanted the President and the country not to be left in any doubt that this March was the symbol and expression of discontent and resentment of Negroes themselves against discriminations in the Army, Navy, U. S. Marines, Air-Corps, defense industries and the Government and not some outburst artificially stirred up and manipulated by the artful Communists.

As a result of the pressure of the proposed March of 100,000 Negroes on Washington, the Executive Order #8802 was issued and under it the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice was established. Effective work is being done by the Committee. More effective work will be done, if, as and when a militant and informed public opinion of the Negro masses and the public in general are placed behind it.

The Executive Order and the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice are of great importance to the Negro because they are creatures of Negro initiative struggle and sacrifice. But while it is the right of Negroes that brought this Executive Order and Committee into being, they are not for Negroes alone, but for all minority groups, embraced within the categories of race, color, religion or national origin.

The March on Washington Movement was careful to insist in its proposed Executive Order that it be not confined to Negroes alone, but that its benefits extend to Jews, Catholics, Mexicans, Filipinos, Chinese and Japanese. This made the Executive Order a State paper of broad and profound democratic purpose and significance.

While the President frees Earl Browder a Communist, who does not represent more than some 50,000 Communists in America, in the interest of national unity, Odell Waller, a young Negro sharecropper, convicted by a poll-tax jury, a member of a race of upwards of 20,000,000 citizens who resent the Government's policy of discrimination, faces execution, June 19, for killing a Virginia landlord in self defense, and no clemency has yet been extended.

Five Scottsboro boys whose conviction has been a stench in the nostrils of justice and decency the world over, still languish in an Alabama prison.

In the Capitol of the Nation, Washington, D. C., no Negro can exercise his Constitutional and civil rights to attend a public theater, and he can starve to death with a thousand dollars in his pocket downtown in the Capitol in the midst of countless eating places. Even the restaurant in the House of Congress won't feed them.

Questions have been asked as to what sort of people composed the March on Washington Movement. Our answer is loyal, patriotic Negro Americans. We love our country. We love our race. We love the human race. We have no use for Nazis, Communists or Fascists or their works. We consider them a menace, a nuisance, a danger and a pestilence to Negroes, labor and our country. We believe in the democratic process, ideals, heritages, faiths and values. We believe in them so strongly we are ready and determined to fight for them at home and abroad.

Yes, we are fighting to kill Jim-Crow now, during the war. We don't propose to wait until the war ends. Everybody else is fighting for democracy now, including the Government. Why shouldn't Negroes fight for democracy too, not only abroad but also at home. Now, is this disloyalty to the Government? Negroes don't have to be disloyal to the Government in order to be loyal to themselves. Nor do they have to be disloyal to themselves in order to be loyal to the Government. Loyalty to the Negrro race by Negroes and loyalty to the Government by Negroes complement and supplement each other. A Negro who is disloyal to his race cannot be trusted by the Government or anybody else. And, by the same token, a Negro who is disloyal to our Government and country cannot be trusted by the Negro race.

The Negro is not challenged to prove his loyalty to the Government and democracy. The Government is challenged to prove its loyalty to democracy and the Negro.

Just as the Jews have the Zionist Movement fighting on their specific problems; the workers have trade unions dealing with their specific problems; women have their movements handling their special problems, so the Negro needs an all-Negro movement to fight to solve his specific problems. But on general problems like war and peace, child labor, workmen's compensation, low rent, better schools, better police protection, lower taxes that concern everybody, Negroes, Catholics, Jews, trade unionists, women, etc., can join in common civic movements. Nor does this mean that Negroes should not help the workers and Jews and Catholics break down barriers and prejudices against them or that they, in turn, should not support the Negroes' fight for his rights, but it does mean that any minority group which has problems has the responsibility of meeting those problems themselves; and nobody else but themselves will effectively grapple with them. History shows that Jews must depend upon women to fight the battles of women; Negroes must depend upon Negroes to fight the battles of Negroes; and the workers must depend upon workers to fight the battles of the workers.

Nor does this all-Negro movement idea imply that interracial movements are not necessary, valuable and sound. It means that interracial movements need to be supplemented by an all-Negro movement just as an inter-religious movement such as the Conference of Christians and Jews is supplemented by specific religious groups of Jews and Catholics and Protestants. For no Negro is secure from intolerance and race prejudice so long as one Jew is the victim of anti-semitism or a Catholic is victimized—as Governor Alfred E. Smith was by religious bigotry during the Presidential campaign against Herbert Hoover—or a trade unionist is harassed by a tory open-shopper.

If the American Union in 1853 could not endure half slave and half free, our American democracy cannot continue with a first-class and second-class citizenship; with one section of the country free to vote and another section disfranchized by the poll tax and white primaries.

The Communistts of all shades and wings who have sought to sabotage this meeting say the time and money put in this meeting should be put into helping to win the war. We reject this advice. Our reply is that not only are we staging this meeting, but one in Chicago and Washington also, and if the President does not issue a war proclamation to abolish Jim-Crow in Washington, the District of Columbia and all Government departments and the Armed Forces, Negroes are going to MARCH and we don't give a hang what happens. While Negroes want to see Russia defeat Hitler Negroes are not going to let the Communists of Russia or the Communists of America that take orders from Russia, or Fascists or Nazis tell them what to do about their problems in America.

We are determined that this war shall not end and our boys now going to Burma and Australia to give their lives for democracy, return and not find democracy at home. It is our responsibility to them that they shall not have fought in vain for a democracy which they cannot enjoy in their own country.

We don't propose to permit this war to end and find Negroes in the same fix they were when it began. We are not going to fight for democracy and then live under mob rule, lynching, the poll tax, white primaries and Jim-Crow.

Yes, we know that to break down Jim-Crow and bury it in the same grave with Hitler's Nazism, Mussolini's Fascism and Hirohito's militarism means struggle and trouble. But what difference does it make? We are having trouble anyway. Better that Negroes face extermination than a life of segregation with its degradation and bitter humiliation. Rather that we die standing on our feet fighting for our rights than to exist upon our knees begging for life. Only brave men can build a new world. If Negroes are not willing to fight, suffer, sacrifice, and if need be, go to jail and even die for a place of equality in this brave new world, we are not worthy of it.

To President Roosevelt

We hail President Roosevelt, the world's greatest living Statesman and champion of democracy! May your strength and courage and will and devotion to the ideals of democracy, liberty, justice and peace never fail you! We believe we are upholding your hand when we fight for the Four Freedoms for Negroes in our land.

Mr. President, the greatest tragedy of America in this war was not the treachery of the Japanese at Pearl Harbor. It is America's profession of fighting for democracy while denying it to her own citizens because of color. America's guns will only be invincible when her democratic soul is invulnerable.

REMARKS BY DR. CHANNING H. TOBIAS

No man, whatever his race, creed or color, can afford to be indifferent to the fight that the Allied Nations are making for the survival of civilization. Especially is this true of disadvantaged minorities, for a victory for the Axis powers in this war would destroy the very means by which oppressed peoples of the earth would make their protests known, namely, free assemblies such as this meeting tonight. It is this consciousness of the gravity of the issue in the war that makes it important that no nation or group within a nation shall be prevented from doing its rightful part in achieving a United Nations victory.

If I understand correctly the purpose of this meeting tonight, it is to insist that every restriction and handicap that prevent thirteen million Negro citizens from full and free participation in the war be removed.

We are not here to display our sores or to comfort the enemies without by manifesting any lack of enthusiasm for the war effort; but we are here to insist that our Government shall call a halt on those traitorous elements within our country who think more of their prejudices than they do of an Allied victory.

We are here to insist upon a single standard of citizenship, not so much because it is fair and just to the Negro, but because a double standard of citizenship has never won a war.

We are here to insist that the Negro, who has never shot a bullet through the American Flag, shall not be humiliated by those who, through lawlessness and violence to personality, daily trample the Flag under foot.

We are here to insist that the Negro shall not be the only exception among the many racial groups that make up our cosmopolitan population when it comes to integration of men into the armed services of the country.

We are here to insist that the principle laid down by the President of the United States, that no man shall be discriminated against in defense industries because of his race, creed, color or national origin, shall be observed, not by token employment but by full and free participation on the part of all qualified workers.

Finally, we are here to remind the nation that the denial of fundamental citizenship rights under the Constitution of the United States and the Bill of Rights, and not the protest against that denial, is the real threat to successful prosecution of the war effort.

DEMOCRACY FOR ALL

By WALTER WHITE

Other speakers will tell you the myriad, often heartbreaking, details of the color line in the war program of our own country. It is a color line which has been slightly dented here and there. But six months after Pearl Harbor and Singapore discrimination based on skin color is as firmly rooted in the thinking of the white world as it ever was. A little vaseline has been applied in meagre applications to this festering cancer of bigotry—a disease so virulent that the safety of the entire world is threatened by it. And the tragedy of the situation is that only a few intelligent and brave souls like Mrs. Roosevelt, Pearl Buck and one or two writers in the white world are wise enough to see the picture as it is.

In the time allotted me I want briefly to touch upon two aspects—one global, the other national—of this whole question of color. In the Coral Sea and at Midway Island the United States has slowed up, if not checked materially, the onward sweep of Japan. But it is foolhardy to believe that these apparent victories have ended or are likely to end soon, the war in the Pacific. Even if Japan surrendered unconditionally tomorrow, her capitulation would provide only a brief interlude of peace unless the white world believes and acts without reservation to make true the words of Sumner Welles on Memorial Day, that "Our victory must bring in its train the liberation of all peoples. Discrimination between peoples because of their race, creed, or color must be abolished. The age of imperialism is ended."

For the blunt truth of the matter is fact the thousand million brown and yellow people of the Orient and the 155 million of black people in Africa just don't believe that the white world believes this or intends to put it into effect once the danger to themselves is past. Gandhi today is saying that the sole interest of the United States in India is to preserve and perpetuate British imperialism. Unless and until the United States takes unequivocal action to put the clear, brief words of Sumner Welles into effect, neither Mr. Gandhi nor the four hundred millions of his fellow Indians, nor the four hundred millions of China, nor the other millions of Burma and the Dutch East Indies and Africa will believe for a moment that the interest of the United States is *not* to continue British and other imperialism in the Orient.

What is desperately needed is forthright action by President Roosevelt in cooperation with the leaders of the colored world—Chiang Kai-shek of China; Gandhi, Nehru and Azab of India; Manual Quezon of the Philippines, and Hailie Selassie of Ethiopia—to draft and put into execution a Pacific Charter which, with the Atlantic Charter of Roosevelt and Churchill will form a world charter of freedom. Nothing less will offset the statement of Churchill last September 14, that the Atlantic Charter applies only to the Nazi-dominated countries of Europe and does not apply to the peoples of the British Empire. Nothing less will convince the brown, yellow and black peoples of the Orient and of the world that President Roosevelt's four freedoms will apply to them as well as to whites. Nothing less will give them a stake to fight for and to die for.

Instead of demonstrating the vision and courage which would galvanize the colored peoples of the world into dynamic, uncompromising struggle against the Axis, what does our country do? It is sending, I am informed, to India and China, American Expeditionary forces made up in large part of white soldiers from Mississippi, Arkansas, Texas and Louisiana. [The N.A.A.C.P. urged the War Department to include in its military instructions to all American soldiers, courses on the racial background of the war. We believe such introduction was, and is desperately needed, to counteract as far as is possible within a short period, the background of racial bigotry in which these and other American soldiers were born and brought up]. Our suggestion was courteously but firmly turned down. Disturbing rumors come back from the Orient of these cracker soldiers treating Indians and Chinese as they are accustomed to treat with impunity Negroes in darkest Mississippi. Is there any wonder that the people of India and of China look with exceedingly skeptical eyes upon the beautiful words of democracy and the four freedoms which fall from white lips?

The plain, bitter truth is that thinking and action on the problem of race in our own country are determined almost completely by the most fascist-minded elements in the deepest and darkest South. This element—which practiced Nazism long before Hitler was born—almost completely dominates our Federal

Government. Our President, our Army, our Navy, and our Government generally, are afraid to challenge or to offend these Southern demagogues by eliminating the color line. Disfranchisement of black people has inevitably brought about the disfranchisement of an overwhelming majority of the white people of the deep South.

Thus, today, the South, with only a little over one-fourth of the population of the United States, holds more than 50 per cent of the chairmanships in the United States House of Representatives and Senate. They have achieved this under a Democratic administration through the ease by which demagogues can get themselves elected and reelected with ridiculous ease through the rotten borough system of the South.

I invite you to go down the list of Senate chairmen if important committees: Chairman of the Appropriations Committee is Carter Glass of Virginia. Of Agriculture, "Cotton Ed" Smith of South Carolina. Of the enormously important Foreign Relations, Tom Connally of Texas who *Life* recently said, would be the most influential of Americans at the Peace Conference in troweling out the new world.. I invite you to read his bitterly sardonic comments on Negroes during the seven weeks filibuster which he led against the anti-lynching bill in 1937.

Chairman of Finance is George of Georgia. Of Military Affairs, Reynolds of North Carolina. Of Rules, Byrd of Virginia. Of Territories and Insular Affairs—increasingly important because of the global nature of the war and of the post-war world—Tydings of Maryland.

In the House of Representatives the situation is even worse. Chairman of the Judiciary Committee is Sumners of Texas, who openly boasted he would never permit even a hearing of any anti-lynching bill as long as he was chairman, and today his comittee refuses to report out the anti-poll tax bill. Of Ways and Means, Doughton of North Carolina; of Banking and Currency, Steegall of Alabama. Of Agriculture, Fulner of South Carolina. Of Naval Affairs, Vinson of Georgia. Of Military Affairs, May of Kentucky.

In the light of the control of our Government by these men who spit upon democracy whenever the Negro is involved, is there any wonder that meetings like this are tragically necessary at a time like this? Or that, irony of ironies, we Negroes must fight for the right to fight when the world is threatened with destruction? But fight we must, and fight we will! And it is a fight which we can and must win. There are thousands on our side and the number constantly grows. Many young white men have petitioned our War Department for permission to serve in a so-called Mixed Division so that they can demonstrate that they believe democracy can be practiced as well as talked about. But the South still rules Washington on the Negro question and the Army because the Army refuses to break down jim-crowism despite the success of the training of Negro and white officers together in training schools located in the deep South. Hundreds of thousands of white Americans, including the American Medical Association, have denounced the order to jim-crowism Negro blood which was given by the Army and Navy to the Red Cross. But this Hitler-like philosophy of blood and race continues. Modest progress has been made by the Fair Employment Practice Committee in breaking down employment discrimination, and there have been modest gains in other fields. But the basic philosophy remains the same—that Negroes are second-class citizens and must remain so even though the world fails.

How can the Negro in the light of the record believe the fine brave words about democracy when tonight Odell Waller sits in death row in a Virginia prison scheduled to die Friday night because he dared defend himself from being killed by a white landlord? How can the Negro believe the fine brave words about democracy when a cheap Mississippi demagogue like Rankin can get up on the floor of the House of Representatives and spew forth venom on the Negro because he resents the imputation of inferiority when his blood is segregated? How can a Negro believe in democracy when the Army and Navy of his Government says to him "You can fight and die for democracy but you can't experience it in the Army and Navy?"

How can a Negro believe wholeheartedly that the cause he is askd to die for is worth dying for when daily he is confronted by insult, discrimination and segregation? Prove to us, United Nations, and prove to the colored peoples of Asia, Africa and the Caribbean that you are not hypocrites when you say this is a war for freedom. Prove it to us and we will show you that we can and will fight like fury for that freedom. But we want—and we intend to have—our share of that freedom!

THE NEW NEGRO

By Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune

Your chins are out, your eyes are clear! I see determination written on the faces of everyone of you.

Your militancy and resoluteness are among America's most valuable assets in a day like this. We must not let America ignore the powerful service that can be rendered here by these attributes you possess. America needs today, as never before, your fighting hearts, your courage, your refusal to surrender or retreat in the face of discouraging odds.

You who are here tonight are a new experience to America. Throughout the history of your life in this country—over three hundred years—you have been regarded as the patient, submissive minority—your first two and a half centuries were spent in enforced slavery. You had no rights, the Supreme Court held —you were chattels like any horse, or plow or iron pot. You were not permitted to use a voice and so had to express your hopes and dreams for freedom, your bravery and courage, through individual rebellion, occasional mass uprisings and more often through the spirituals, the sorrow songs that gave the first mass expression to our deep longing to live some day as free citizens in a democracy.

Then came your emancipation—to save the union which could not exist half slave and half free. The Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution legally abolished slavery. The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments took you out of the status of chattels and made you citizens, made the Bill of Rights yours. Still, you were patient—experiencing discriminations, injustices, segregations and denials of equal opportunities. Here and there a clarion voice rose above the rumblings against injustice, a Frederick Douglass, a Harriet Tubman, a Walter White, a Philip Randolph, and nameless and numerous unsung heroes. But, the pall of a slave experience still hung over the masses of our people. They had the right to speak out but dared not speak out.

But, today—a New Negro has arisen in America. He is here in Madison Square Garden tonight. He is you!

You are neither young nor old—you're just new! You have awakened as has the world. You are seeking full freedom, justice, respect, and opportunity.

You are militant in spirit. You are unwilling to accept less than the Constitution guarantees to you as citizens of the world's greatest democracy.

You are no longer begging—you are insisting, because you realize that America, the only country you know and the country you love, cannot be preserved nine-tenths free and one-tenth oppressed. You realize your insistence is necessary to save America from itself, to make America the ideal democracy that it professes itself to the world to be. Not only are our enemies capitalizing on America's slightest failures to do so, but our allies and friends in China and India, Africa and South America, are weighting America's sincerity on her own "home" scales.

Thank God you have these qualities of militancy and insistence. And thank God you have a leadership to cultivate and guide these qualities that are rising from the masses.

You know how important it is that this surging spirit be kept within the bounds of law and order. You know how necessary it is that your militancy be non-violent. But you must at the same time keep it persistent, keep it courageous, make it articulate.

Only by so doing can we win victory for democracy at home and for democracy throughout the world. Our insistence upon the practice of democratic ideals here does not in any measure detract from our loyalty to our country, nor from the militancy in our stand for the democratization of the world. Friends of freedom are aware of our purpose—they know our insistence is an effort to rid America of shame.

We have grown tired of turning the other cheek. Both our cheeks are now so blistered they are too sensitive for further blows. But regardless of our trials and tribulations at home, we must not for a moment lose sight of the fact that we must give our all-out, unreserved effort to winning the war. Unless this war is won on the battlefields abroad, there can be no victory in our struggles here at home. I want all America to understand—and I believe I voice the sentiment of everyone of you here—that we will never strike our Flag. On the contrary, we will eternally protect it with all that we have in courage, in faith, in endurance.

At the same time, we want our Flag to protect us—at home—in our right to produce and to live, abroad in our willingness to sacrifice and to die.

THE SPIRITUAL FRONT

By JOHN LAFARGE, S.J.

There is much talk of fronts; of Eastern fronts and Western, of first and second fronts.

When all has been studied out, I believe we shall find that the supreme front of all, where ultimately the world's business will be decided, is the home circle of each and every American citizen. What wins or loses there, will clamp the final decision upon the battles of the globe.

Let us visit such a home, one of the homes of the men and women in this great audience, of millions like them throughout the country.

In that home, the father and mother assemble their children of an evening and talk of the future that awaits them. They *must* think of that future, for those children have been given them by God. They have received that family in sacred trust, and it is God's most precious gift. Woe to the man who will deprive parents or homes of their children!

If you or I are privileged to be guests at that family table, we shall soon learn what thoughts are weighing upon the minds of father and mother. Two or three questions they must inevitably ask themselves.

First, what will be the freedom of their children in the life that soon begins for them? Our country requires the same of these children that it requires of all others: the same responsibility as future citizens; requires that they work, and fight, and pray like all the rest of human kind. It tells them daily at school of their grave obligation to develop the talents and capacities with which the Creator has endowed them.

But will these upcoming boys and girls be free to live up to that responsibility? Will they return, some fine day, and report to aging parents the brutal news that they have been denied, on the grounds of an exploded racial theory, of the opportunity to devote their gifts, their intelligence, their lives to the service of God and country?

Another foreboding stirs uneasiness in the parents' minds. What pledge of personal immunity does the future hold? What protection from the violence of the mob, or from the mob's rule through legal and political discrimination? Will the right to life itself be guaranteed to them?

Dearest of all, however, to the parents' hearts, dearer than life itself is the thought of their children's honor. Will stigmas attach to them in the public mind, in the daily language of their fellow-citizens and fellow-Americans? Will they be ticketed in a relentless classification, from which no merit or diligence or ability can ever find escape? Must they carry a badge that will pursue them even into the armed services of the nation, upon land and sea, until death?

Or will it be said of them, and falsely and unfactually said, that they cannot work side by side in factory or ship-yard with those of another race without arousing friction and antagonism? Will such legends and calumnies be allowed to continue?

These are not questions that a parent merely *may* ask. They are questions as is sometimes idly said, inspired by "liberal well-wishers." They are questions which parents *must* ask. Upon this front, the front of the elementary and inalienable rights of every human being, parents must do battle, if they are to be faithful to the charge which the Creator has laid upon them. Parents are the shepherds of their flock, and the great Shepherd, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, has branded as a traitor and a mercenary anyone who would desert his flock in time of danger.

Yet the nation relies upon these same parents and prospective parents to defend our country unto death from the most desperate enemy any people has ever seen. Will the defense of their children, and the future good of their homes, weaken or contradict the supreme effort with which the Negro citizens of America are consecrating themselves to total war against a total enemy? The prejudiced and short-sighted may utter such a charge. But to these false prophets there is a crushing answer. It is given by men who know Hitler first hand, men who daily face his wrath and his guile, some of whom I personally know and have studied with in times past: the religious leaders in Hitler's own country.

"We not only stand up for religious and clerical rights," say the Catholic Bishops of Germany in the declaration drawn up at their last annual meeting in Fulda, and read in the churches on March 22 of this year, "but likewise for the human rights bestowed by God on mankind."

The German Bishops specify these rights: the natur-

al rights to personal freedom—to life and the goods essential to living—and "the natural right that every man has to the protection of his honor against lies and slander." They are the answers to the three questions affecting the future of our children that I have just mentioned.

What the religious minded men and women of Germany and of the United States, be they Catholic, Protestant or Jew—defend against the infamy of Hitler—these threefold rights are what parents are bound in conscience to seek for our children and our children's children forever. They demand them for white children, for Negro children, for all children, since racial injustice knows no boundaries, and if tolerated for one race will soon be administered to all.

For armies and navies there must needs be many diverse fields of combat, since they work in time and space. But there is but one front for souls in this war, which has no bounds of time or space: it springs from the eternal Creator and extends to all the world. Upon this spirited front we take our stand, when we claim in the light of our American Constitution and in the light of Christian teaching, the unimpeded power to do our full duty and achieve our complete destiny as children of God and citizens of the United States. There is no sounder position under Heaven; and none which will contribute more wholeheartedly to the successful prosecution of the war.

REMARKS BY LESTER H. GRANGER

The length of the remarks of the previous speakers makes it unnecessary for me to go very deeply in the issues responsible for our being here. Many points have been developed, and even belabored by those preceding me. With some of those points I am in agreement, and with others I am in strong disagreement. That is natural, for this audience is composed of Negroes of many political and religious beliefs, of different economic circumstances, temperaments and past experiences. Our reactions to a common problem will differ as our experiences, temperaments and personal opinions differ.

Disagreements are not as important tonight as our common agreement—the common cause which has brought us all together. We are here because we love America and because we are determined to help America win the war for Democracy. And this is no idle lip service when we make this statement. We Negroes know what Democracy means, for we have been among those suffering most deeply from its lack. We love this country as few others have the right to love it. We have built it with our sweat, toil and blood. We have given anguished labor in the blinding sun and the dark of night. For our labor we have received scant praise and scantier reward.

This country is ours, for we know no other flag—no other land—no other love—but America. We realize that all our future and our best interests are tied up in a victory for American armies. We realize also the alternative fate that will await us if this nation should lose the war. We need no exhortation to inspire our loyalty. Neither do we need self-appointed counselors who come to us with selfish aims of their own to tell us our duty to ourselves and our land. We need no such counseling, whether it comes from the right, the center, the left or the further left. We have our destiny chosen for ourselves, and that destiny is the attainment of Democracy—full and complete Democracy for ourselves and our children.

We have a time-table for starting the progress toward that goal and the time for starting is NOW—TONIGHT—THIS MINUTE. We march tonight for an all-out effort for victory, which means one hundred percent use of America's manpower, financial resources and military and naval strength. We cannot make a one hundred percent war effort with nine-tenths use of our human resources. Insofar as racial prejudice bars the complete participation of Negroes in all phases of national defense, in just so far does prejudice become the rope that binds the strong arm of Democracy behind its back.

We are tonight to cut loose those bonds and to release the strong arm of Democracy for the glorious victory that must be hers. It is with this thought that the National Urban League is represented here tonight, and it is in this spirit that I bring you the greetings of my organization. We pledge ourselves to work with all truly loyal American groups that desire victory for Democracy and Democracy in Victory.

A NEW DAY

By Frank Crosswaith

Speaking from the platform in Madison Square Garden is an old experience of mine, one which I have had the opportunity to enjoy for quite a number of years. Interestingly enough, however, upon every previous occasion when mine was the privilege to speak from htis historic platform, it has always been in behalf of and for the men and women of America who work for their living. And upon this occasion, as I rise to speak to you, I see before me working men and working women. And, as I think and talk—I intend to think and talk to working men and women—this is the first occasion, however, when I have attended a funeral in Madison Square Garden. I consider this a funeral because, like every other black man and woman and child here, and those unable to be here, we are gathered here tonight to bury into the grave of forgetfulness the type of black man that America too long has known.

When you ask the average American to tell you something about the Negro they are likely to say—to think of either of folk songs or the spirituals, or to tell you how we can sing and dance. We want America, from tonight, to begin to answer a question of the Negro—how we can think. Somewhere in our literature it is said that once to every man and woman comes a moment to decide in the strife which truth and falsehood—for the good or evil side. We have determined now to take our places alongside of the good side.

As we contemplate our plight in this nation, the nation that owes us most of all the people who make up her population, we are determined that no longer will we be considered beggars in the land that is reputedly the richest in the world, because my black mother, and yours, and our black fathers labored here for 245 years and never received a penny in wages for that labor. We are determined no longer to beg for our rights in this land, because our white fellow-citizens over a century and a half ago—and their descendants now—came to this land in order to find liberty. My father and yours came here to lose their liberty. And when we hear from now on over the air and from the platform those songs that stir the souls of America, we want America to interrupt those songs not as the pleading—the sycophanting plea of weak and weary black men—but the determined challenge of courageous black men saying to America "Here we stand at last. Give us our liberty or give us death!"

I feel like you keenly on this question, my friends, keenly because I belong. like you, to the men and women of this nation who own no land, who own no bank account, who, in order to go from sunrise to sunset, to go from their birth to their death, must find somebody to give them a chance to work for their living. I feel keenly on this question too because as I stand here as one of the exploited black and white millions of this nation, talking so loudly about democracy, about freedom, about justice and those other elevating ideals for which unnumbered men of unnumbered colors and creeds have gone down the slope of time, with the Crucifix on their shoulders and the dagger in their hearts—as I speak to you, I have the bone of my bone and blood of my blood, a black boy in an American uniform—my child, if you please—somewhere on the continent of Europe tonight, to die, if necessary, for the Stars and Stripes of the United States. That son of mine can't see me now; I can't see him, he can't hear me and I can't hear him. But with my eyes I can see in the very crevices of his soul and his heart. He has a hope. He has a dream. That hope and that dream is that some day the flag for which he is about to die in Europe may wave freely over the heads of his children and his race and his class like it waved over the heads of those who came here in order to find liberty.

Let me say to you, my friends, I might become a little humorous upon occasion. This is the first time in all of my speaking career—not only from this platform but from most platforms—when I have been limited to but five minutes. Frank Crosswaith is utterly unable to disclose the corners of his soul in five minutes. I am deeply appreciative to the Mayor of the City of New York for having appointed me a member of the Housing Authority of this city. Once more I am called upon to be—to render some service to my class—the working class—and to my race. It might be of some import to the Mayor and to my friends to know that upon the first occasion in my life when I stood before a Judge in the United States I stood there as agitated tenant,, organizing fellow-tenants in segregated Harlem 24 years ago, and I think I can

render some more service to my fellow-tenants and to my fellow-workingmen.

Let me, because of the large number of speakers who will follow me, touch on but two things and then complete my brief address. Permit no wind or wave to blind your eyes to the fact, black men and women, that your fate and the fate of your children rests solidly in the lap of the working class of the United States, and in the lap of the working men and women of the world. I know as well as you do that there are white working men so blind, so ignorant, so stupid, so assinine, that they are unable to recognize their kinship with you and with me. But in spite of that, in spite of their ignorance, in spite of their shortsightedness, we must have more vision, a better understanding, than they, and to organize ourselves like the Pullman Porters have done in this country, and develop power—power, if you please; it's spelled POWER, and any time you separate that P from that O, or that O from that W, or that E, you are going to have low wages, long hours, segregation, lynching, disenfranchisement, and all the other evils that follow doggedly behind working men, black and white, who lack POWER.

Seeing what has happened to the Negro workers in the Bahama just recently, getting 81c a day wages while organized white working men from the United States work beside them and make wages that permit the wages of the native workers to look like a bean in the bosom of the ocean—but you notice that even those black working men in the Bahama, they too are learning how no longer to plead and beg. They are acting, they are learning how to think and act together, and as they do that in cooperation with the working men and women of every color of every creed, they will be able not only to defeat Hitler and all the other evils that smell of Nazism but we will be able to develop enough power, enough education, enough vision and socialmindedness that we will be able at last to lift our bruised and tormented souls out of the gutter of unemployment, of low wages, long hours, lynching, segregation, and together stretch forward our hands, black and white, Jew and Gentile, and march—march on and on and on, from victory to victory, from success to success, until at last for our children and theirs we will leave an America worthy of the blood of Crispus Attucks!

AS YOUTH SEES IT

EDITED BY YOUTH

RESPONSIBILITIES OF CATHOLICS

"This moving solicitude of Communism for the Negro is scarcely an overflowing of the great humanitarian spirit that wells from the bleeding hearts of the party leaders. Humanitarianism is not one of Communism's more notable attributes.

"Opportunism, however, is. And in 13,000,000 Negroes including many millions of votes, Communism recognizes a minority eminently worth cultivating. Moreover, as a persecuted people, often held in contempt by even the most worthless whites, the Negro has been found emotionally and mentally prepared for the new enlightenment of Lenin. Years and years of intolerance and discrimination have put him in a frame of mind to grasp avidly at even the ariest of hopes and promises."

* * * * *

The above-quoted passages appear in an article titled "*The Forgotten Ten Percent,*" in Volume III, Number 6, of the little paper "*Perspective*" published by the Literary Committee of Alumni Council of Catholic Action, of Boston. The Council has a special Committee on Interracial Justice—one which should prove vastly effective since it is based on so realistic an admission of facts.

* * * * *

It is the failure to realize, and once realizing, a failure to admit to our individual responsibility in the matter of social sins, which so often prevents a total cure. Oh, it is always easy to allocate the blame for these ills!—but since our census-taking in such instances seldom includes ourselves, self-indictment is rarely (if ever) one of the results.

This is specifically true in the case of the social injustice accorded the Negro. Recognize the evil, we do; but recognize our own particular blame in the matter? . . . well, humility is not an easy virtue!

It is the easy fault of most Catholics that they believe themselves incapable of any sin against Charity. They believe, in a very passive way, that the name "Catholic" weaves a magic web about them . . . a web marvelously impenetrable by the extremely human tendency towards uncharitableness and snobbery. As a result, too often "off guard," many more Catholics than one would care to admit are unconscious supporters of un-Christian movements.

* * * * *

It is these sins of non-action, of omission rather than of commission, which do most harm in causes such as that of Interracial Justice. Once an evil is ignored, it does not remain at a fixed stage but grows steadily worse, so that the ignoring does as much harm in its own way as active opposition.

An evil is ignored for one of two usual reasons: either through failure to realize the existence of the evil (an infin-

itely more forgivable sin); or through that laziness of conscience which makes us deny our obligation to act in rectifying an evil clearly perceived but consciously ignored.

It is an unfortunate and lamentable truth that the latter of these two reasons generally motivates the Catholic in his so-called "passive" abetment of social injustices as that against the Negro . . . since a Catholic of any training, however limited, cannot fail to realize the anti-Christian spirit which occasions hatred and prejudice of any nature whatsoever, be it religious, racial or of an economic basis.

For, being a Catholic means, simply, these two facts: (1) God is my first love; (2) my fellow-man is my second love. And "my fellow-man" is every living, breathing, God-created, soul-endowed human being of whatever creed, color, or nationality.

* * * * *

In the matter of the Interracial question, there are three types of Catholics: the first (and let us not forget him, though he *is* the minority), the Catholic actively and fearlessly engaged in an attempt to combat this rampant evil by his life, his words, and his prayers; the second, the Catholic above-mentioned, who blindly ignores his duty to take active part in the fight against this injustice; the third, the Catholic who goes even shamelessly further and openly and actively participiates in discriminating against the Negro.

It is the two latter types which are our prime concern: especially the second type, since he predominates so strongly, and since indifference has a far greater nullifying effect than any other influence. (Open discrmination, on the other hand, has been known to sharpen resistance.)

* * * * *

If we, as Catholics actively interested in the Interracial movement, will begin by taking inventory of our own list of prejudicial actions, we shall be taking our first step in the direction of effectiveness. Prejudice is a very natural tendency: let us not be ashamed to admit its existence in our natures, but rather make certain that it becomes no more than a tendency instead of allowing it to become a ruling passion.

Let us not be smugly righteous in Publican fashion, or like proud and viciously gleeful children crying "We didn't have anything to do with it!", sit back and await the punishment of those we deem offenders. It is no grace of our own which creates in us chance awareness of evil. It is, rather, a heaven-gift which we should seek to employ as a means of stirring others to similar awareness.

Passiveness in the attitude of any given group towards a movement is partly the fault of those who profess to understand and condemn this evil lot afforded the Negro in our scheme of "civilization," to live this understanding and this contemnation so contagiously that these passive beholders (especially those who term themselves "Catholics), may be literally and nescapably whirlpooled into active participation in this great social crusade.

We are responsible in the name of Charity and of Justice and of Christian Humility.

—M. McCormack

PLAYS
And
A Point Of View

By Theophilus Lewis

The recent theatrical season was so barren of merit that both the Pulitzer Committee and the Critics' Circle declined to make an award for the best American play of the year. If those eclectic bodies had assembled during the latter half of June, instead of earlier in the year, they might have considered the Madison Square Garden Rally of the March on Washington Movement and arrived at a different decision. The Garden Rally was a stirring spectacle of an oppressed people demanding justice. Even the most case-hardened critic would have been compelled to concede that the event was well staged.

* * *

Just before Mr. Erwin, the chairman, formally called the Rally to order, A. Philip Randolph, National Director of the March on Washington Movement, entered the Garden with a colorful bit of pomp and circumstance. Mr. Randolph was escorted through the auditorium by a hundred Pullman porters in uniform. A chef, in white cap and apron, marched at the head of the procession while fifty maids formed the rear guard. The accompanying music, played by the porters' band, was a martial Protestant hymn, "Hold the Fort for I Am Coming."

* * *

After conducting Mr. Randolph to the rostrum, the porters were seated in a body in the center of the reserved section. The prominence of the porters gave the Rally a decidedly working class atmosphere—an appropriate gesture, since Mr. Randolph is President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Practically all Negroes, of course, are wage earners, or want to be.

* * *

Dr. Erwin officially opened the rally by introducing an attractive brown-skinned girl who sang the National Anthem. The soloist sang with emotion which probably caused the FBI men present to put her on their suspect list for future observation. The current fashion in patriotism inclines toward blatant braggadocio and the phony patrioteering of charlatans whose real loyalty is to some foreign flag or ideology.

* * *

The militant Lutheran music, rendered for processional music, lifted the assemblage to a restrained state of religious fervor which was sustained until the end of the program.

The religious atmosphere of the Rally was enhanced by the number of ministers on the platform and among the speakers. All faiths were represented, with the Baptists predominating.

* * *

The Presbyterian invocation, by Rev. William Lloyd Imes, was a gem of sheer artistry. Dr. Imes included verses from James Weldon Johnson's Negro National Anthem in his prayer. The Negro National Anthem, incidentally, is unique among patriotic hymns. It expresses devotion to God, a people and an ideal, rather than a bit of geography.

* * *

A highlight of the program was a play by Dick Campbell, who presented his Rose McClendon Players. The several scenes depicted the difficulties Negroes encounter when they attempt to serve their country as workers or soldiers. Canada Lee, who played Bigger Thomas, in "Native Son," was featured in one of the scenes.

* * *

Comic relief was provided by the Rev. W. C. Carrington, who could easily qualify as a monologue artist. His punch line was a wow. "We want it clearly understood," he declared, "that we are not here to embarrass the President or the administration. They have embarrassed themselves."

* * *

Dr. Erwin, Walter White and Mr. Campbell, are, visually, white men. Which goes to prove you cannot always believe what you see. Personally, they would have no trouble entering the avenues to success open to Nordics and advancing as far as their ability could carry them. One is impelled to salute the integrity of these men who are voluntarily loyal to an oppressed people.

FROM HERE AND THERE DURING THE MONTH

● FEDERAL COUNCIL URGES ACTION, NOW

New York, June 25—The executive committee of the Federal Council of Churches in a "Message to Our Fellow-Christians" today urged churches to set their own houses in order in the matter of race discrimination, saying:

"Out of the churches of America must come leaders who . . . vigorously oppose all policies and practices of racial discrimination in the Armed Forces; (who) work constructively for the relieving of the acute white-Negro tensions growing up in camp and war industrial communities; and who) as employers or workers give strong support to President Roosevelt's executive order against discrimination in industry . . . "

The message, which was directed to the members of the 24 national denominations which comprise the Federal Council, declared that "Racial discriminations against Negroes and other minority groups has persisted in our communities partly because it has not been eliminated from our churches. . . . The achievement of the Christian ideal of democracy in our nation falls short because of the lack of clearer demonstration in our churches. Men and women of all races should be warmly welcomed among their members.

"The experience of our missionaries . . . has shown conclusively that we need to achieve justice and fellowship among racial groups in our own land in order to show the sincerity of our belief in the Gospel we carry to the peoples of other lands."

● MANPOWER AGENCY WILL AID NEGROES

Washington, June 20—A Negro newspaper service to work for full use of Negroes in the training and employment phases of the war production program has been set up by Paul V. McNutt, chairman of the War Manpower Commission. Mr. Robert C. Weaver is director of the new division.

The new service will assist in obtaining wider participation of Negroes in war industries and will compile and give out information relative to availability of Negro manpower and training programs. It will direct attention to possibilities for utilization of Negroes when local training programs and housing projects are being planned.

The service will also cooperate with the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice in the investigation and adjustment of complaints involving discrimination or failure to utilize to the fullest extent available Negro manpower or to extend training privileges to Negroes.

● PHI DELTA KAPPA VOTES TO DROP "WHITE CLAUSE"

Phi Delta Kappa, national professional educational fraternity, in a nation-wide referendum, voted to drop the constitutional clause restricting membership in the organization to only white men, it was announced recently by Dr. George D. Weeks, chairman of the Beta Chapter at Teachers College.

The referendum ended a four-month-old fight against the ranks of the fraternity over the question of whether to admit non-white members. Of the ninety-two chapters in the organization, sixty-seven voted to remove the restriction, twenty wanted to retain the measure and five failed to cast a ballot.

A fight over the so-called "white clause" was precipitated last February when the national executive council of the fraternity conditionally revoked the charter of the Sigma Chapter of Ohio State University because it had admitted a Negro and Chinese to membership.

● TELLS EIGHT CONCERNS TO LIFT RACE BARS

Washington, May 26—Eight concerns in the New York and New Jersey area holding large war contracts have been ordered by the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice to cease and desist from discriminating against potential workers because of their color, it was announced today.

The action was based on the record of public hearings held in New York City in February and showed that the cited companies had refused to employ qualified persons because they were Negroes, Jews or nationals of enemy countries. It was taken under Executive Order 8802, which

outlaws such discriminations by war contractors and the Government.

The concerns cited in the order are Carl Norden, Inc., and Fairchild Aviation Corporation, both of New York City; Wright Aeronautical Corporation of Paterson, N. J., Becton, Dickinson & Co. and Continental Can Company of East Rutherford, N. J., Babcock & Wilcox of Bayonne, Titeflex Metal Hose Co., Newark, and Isolantite, Belleville, N. J.

Dr. Malcolm S. MacLean, chairman of the committee, said "there is a long list of employers who hitherto refused or who now refuse employment to persons because of their race, their religion, or their national background."

● BISHOP GUILLEME DEAD AT 83; 58 YEARS AN AFRICAN MISSIONER

London, June 12—The Most Rev. Maturin Guillème, Titular Bishop of Matara in Proconsulari and retired Vicar Apostolic of Nyassaland, has died in Nyassaland at 83, the White Fathers have announced. He had served 59 years as a missionary in central Africa.

While stationed on the lower shores of Lake Tanganyika, as a young missionary, Bishop Guillème used to cross the lake at least once a month in a native dhow, it is reported, to visit the slave market at Ujiji, where he bought slaves to set them free.

So great was the natives' affection for him that when he was moved from one station in Tanganyika to another, 500 miles distant, he was followed by 3,000 members of his flock.

In Zanzibar, toward the end of last century, he gathered much information about the slave trade, by visiting the markets, and he passed on the facts to Cardinal Lavigerie and to British officials who were engaged in the suppression of the slave traffic.

Seven years ago Bishop Guillème resigned his charge of the Vicariate and spent his last years hearing confessions and helping those who sought his advice. He had lived to see the number of Catholics increase from zero to 43,000 in the nine mission stations under his jurisdiction.

○ ALMOST 84,000 NEGROES IN CARE OF JOSEPHITE FATHERS

Baltimore, Md.—From parishes in the North and mission outposts in the South comes striking evidence of the spiritual and material progress made by Josephite Fathers in the past year in the apostolate for the Negro. The total number of souls under their care, including 1,560 converts, has now reached 83,987, an increase of 2,720 for the year. One hundred and fifteen priests are actively engaged in 72 parishes and 35 missions. Thirty-seven other priests of the society are assigned to special work.

The rapid spiritual advancement of the work has necessitated material growth to provide facilities for worship and instruction. Two memorial chapels were erected in the past year, one near Fort Worth, Tex., and the other in Welsh, La., according to the annual report in the *Colored Harvest*, published here. Other schools were built in Beaumont, Tex., New Orleans, La., Biloxi, Miss., and Houston, Tex.

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"I can't begin to tell you how much I have enjoyed *Dark Symphony*. What an insight it gives the public to the Colored Race. I read the book to the children and they were deeply impressed. One of the boys came up after class and said: 'Gee whiz, Sister, do you know that book has given me an entirely different slant on the Negro race'?"

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8 POINT PROGRAM — MARCH-ON-WASHINGTON MOVEMENT

"Winning Democracy for the Negro is Winning the War for Democracy"

1. We demand in the interest of national unity, the abrogation of every law which makes a distinction in treatment between citizens based on religion, creed, color, or national origin. This means an end to Jim Crow in education, in housing, in transportation and in every other social, economic and political privilege; and especially we demand, in the capital of the nation, an end to all segregation in public places and in public institutions.
2. We demand legislation to enforce the 5th and 14th amendments guaranteeing that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law so that the full weight of the National Government may be used for the protection of life and thereby may end the disgrace of lynching.
3. We demand the enforcement of the 14th and 15th amendments and the enactment of the Pepper Poll Tax Bill so that all barriers in the exercise of the suffrage are eliminated.
4. We demand the abolition of segregation and discrimination in the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Air Corps, and all other branches of national defense.
5. We demand an end to discrimination in jobs and job training. Further, we demand that the F.E.P.C. be made a permanent administration agency of the U. S. Government and that it be given power to enforce its decisions based on its findings.
6. We demand that Federal funds be withheld from any agency which practices discrimination in the use of such funds.
7. We demand Negro and minority group representation on all administrative agencies so that these groups may have recognition of their democratic right to participate in formulating policies.
8. We demand representation for the Negro and minority racial groups on all missions, political and technical, which will be sent to the peace conference so that the interests of all people everywhere may be fully recognized and justly provided for in the post war settlement.

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MARCH — *To mourn death of Sharecropper Odell Waller.*

MARCH — *To protest the Poll Tax which killed Odell Waller.*

DAY — *SATURDAY, JULY 25, 1942.*

PLACE -- *ASSEMBLE AT COLUMBUS CIRCLE at 8th Ave. and 59th St., and MARCH TO UNION SQUARE at 14th St. and 4th Ave.*

TIME — *2:30 P. M.*

March-On-Washington Movement

2084 Seventh Avenue **MOnument 2-3350**

440

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Chicago, Ill.

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For Further Information

DON'T FAIL TO ATTEND REPORT TO CHICAGO ON MEETING HELD AT COLISEUM AT

Church of Good Shepherd, 57th & Prairie
Friday Evening, 8 P.M., August 7th

PRINCIPAL SPEAKER:
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, National Director, March on Washington Movement

---

UNDER AUSPICES

MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT

CHARLES WESLEY BURTON, Director
THEODORE BROWN, Secretary
ERNEST SMITH, Treasurer

March-on-Washington MOVEMENT

MASS MEETING

"WINNING DEMOCRACY FOR THE NEGRO IS WINNING THE WAR FOR DEMOCRACY."

FREDRIK PERRY

Friday Evening
August 14, 1942

Municipal Auditorium

(Convention Hall)

PRICE 10c

ST. LOUIS, MO.

FOREWORD

The MARCH-ON-WASHINGTON MOVEMENT is an all Negro Movement, but it is not anti-white. We believe that Negroes need an all Negro Movement, just as the Jews have a Zionist movement and the Catholics have an all Catholic movement and labor a movement of which only workers are members.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
National Director

An all Negro movement, however, does not imply that there should not be movements of mixed groups any more than the Zionist movement means that there should not be movements composed of Jews and Gentiles; or an all Catholic movements implies that there should not be movements composed of Catholics and Protestants; or the trade union imply that there should not be movements composed of workers and employers.

The purpose of the MARCH-ON-WASHINGTON MOVEMENT is to definitely stress and emphasize that the main and basic responsibility for effecting the solution of the Negro problem rests upon Negroes themselves. We believe that the Negroes should supply the money and pay the price, make the sacrifices and endure the suffering to break down the barriers to a realization of full citizenship rights in America.

The MARCH-ON-WASHINGTON MOVEMENT believes in racial equality, and we propose to fight for it with all of our might. It rejects the doctrine of racial supremacy of Adolf Hitler in Germany and Governor Talmadge of Georgia.

We believe in the technique and method of mass action as an expression of Negro power to batter down all forms of racial segregations and discriminations. We are opposed to any movement or propaganda against white people and any movement or propaganda of anti-semitism, anti-Catholicism, or anti-foreignism or anti-labor.

The basic principle of the MARCH-ON-WASHINGTON MOVEMENT is democratic. All of the members in it are equal. Our slogan is: *"The Highest Is As Low As the Lowest and the Lowest Is As High As the Highest."*

The MARCH-ON-WASHINGTON MOVEMENT believes whole-heartedly in the cause of the United Nations and seeks to aid in achieving victory of the armed forces of the United Nations over the Axis powers.

We are opposed to Fascists, Communists and Nazis and all their works.

We wish to express here our appreciation to all the members of the MARCH-ON-WASHINGTON MOVEMENT, the Chairman of Committees and friends who have helped to make the St. Louis meeting a success and an expression of Negro power to achieve justice, freedom and democracy for the Negro people of America, the West Indies and Africa.

Your faithful servant,

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, *National Director.*

The March on Washington Committee is to be congratulated for the efforts put forward in making this meeting a success.

The high purpose for which the meeting is called and the unselfish service the committee members have rendered must inspire the admiration of this entire community.

THE PEOPLE'S UNDERTAKING COMPANY,

is happy for the opportunity to assist the committee in this small way, for we are a business of this community and what affects the Negro people of the community, affects us as a business.

It is our earnest desire that success will crown your every effort and that the goal you seek will be attained.

PEOPLE'S UNDERTAKING COMPANY

Jordan W. Chambers, President

3100 FRANKLIN AVENUE JEfferson 0443

Clark

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Left to Right—Front Row: Harold W. Ross, Thelma M. Grant, T. D. McNeal, Jordan W. Chambers, Atty. John A. Davis; Rear Row: Columbus Ewing, Leyton Weston, Atty. David M. Grant and Judge Geo. L. Vaughn.

I AM 100% BEHIND THE PROGRAM . . .

. . . of the . . .

March On Washington Committee

LON THOMAS

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The Funeral Directors Casket Company

almost never buys Program Space for the purpose of advertising its business. We frequently do contribute money and give support to worthy causes. This, we try to do without ostentation.

The ***March On Washington Movement***, however, appeals to us in the nature of a ***"MUST,"*** hence, we join our Fellow Business Men in placing herein our message.

The FUNERAL DIRECTORS CASKET COMPANY is proud to be a part of the ***March On Washington Movement.*** The unassailable logic embodied in Mr. A. Philip Randolph's ***Foreword,*** printed on the inside Front Cover of this book, is a Pillar of Truth staunch as The Rock of Ages. The integrity, forthright courage and vision of the man who leads this movement, is an inspiration to those of us who have waited for someone to point the way out. Now, at last, there is a light on the horizon.

May the Tempo of the

March on Washington Movement

be constantly accelerated as it moves to the various Large Cities of our Great Country until it shall achieve the goal it seeks, the Goal of a **Democracy** that can stand before a Questioning World in honest rainment and with never an apology for misdeeds committed against its minority people.

GEORGE A. CARPER, President

Funeral Directors Casket Co.

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GENERAL COMMITTEE

FIRST ROW: (Left to right) Atty. John A. Davis, Margaret Hall, Dr. J. H. Grant, Thelma Grant, T. D. McNeal, Marie Pace, Leyton Weston, Ollie Miller, Harold Ross.

SECOND ROW: (Left to right) C. D. Miller, J. F. Freeman, Wm. Atkins, Fannie Pitts, Wyatt Curtis, Lela Lee, Atty. David M. Grant, Fannie Torian, Columbus Ewing, Lawrence Ousley, Atty. Geo. L. Vaughn, Nita Blackwell.

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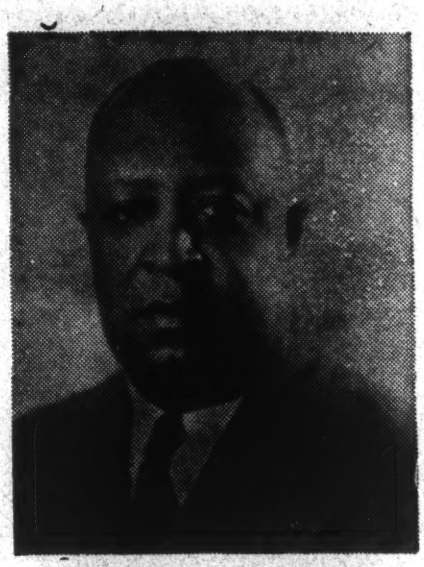
AMBULANCE SERVICE

MILTON P. WEBSTER

Is a Native of Tennessee. His present home is Chicago, Ill., where he has resided for 30 years. He is First International Vice President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters & Chairman of its Executive Board.



MILTON P. WEBSTER

He is also a member of the

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Dining Car Employees Union No. 354
Greater St. Louis Lodge No. 1012, L. B. P. O. E. W.
Longshoremen's Local No. 1400
Civic Cooperative Association
Musicians Equity Association Sub Local No. 2
Motion Picture Operators Union No. 143A
Tom Powell Post No. 77, American Legion
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St. Paul A. M. E. Church
Auxiliary—Public Relations Comm. N. A. A. C. P.
Washington Tabernacle Baptist Church
Men's Club—All Saints Church
Progress Christian Spiritual Church
Gamma Omega Chapter (AKA)

We're Grateful . . .

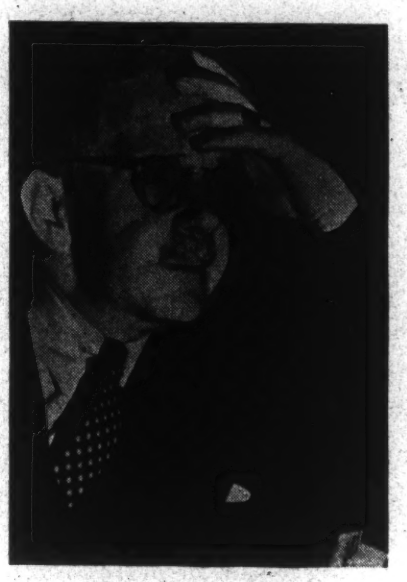
PINE STREET YMCA

The **MARCH MOVEMENT** would fail in a duty if it omitted to advise the public of the splendid manner in which the **PINE STREET YMCA,** under the directorship of Mr. James E. Cook, Executive Secretary, has cooperated.

A voluntary people's movement of this character is always sorely pressed for funds and the generous use the "Y" has permitted us to make of its facilities for meetings, etc., greatly relieved what might have become a distressing problem.

We Acknowledge our Grateful Thanks

WALTER WHITE, who became Executive Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1931, succeeding Jas. Weldon Johnson, was born in Atlanta, Georgia, is a graduate of Atlanta University, and has done post-graduate work in economics and sociology in the college of the city of New York. He holds an honorary degree of Doctor of Laws from Howard University and has been an executive officer of the N. A. A. C. P. since 1918.



WALTER WHITE

In line of duty Mr. White has investigated forty-one lynchings and eight race riots, travelling over 400,000 miles in the United States and Europe. He attended the Pan-African Congress in 1921 in England, and spent a year in France as a fellow of the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation.

Mr. White is also a prolific writer, being the author of two novels, "Fire in the Flint" and "Flight." He also wrote "Rope and Faggott" and "A Biography of Judge Lynch," an exhaustive study of lynch psychology.

Mr. White has contributed to such leading magazines as the "American Mercury," "Harpers," "New Republic," "The Nation" and "Forum", together with articles in the 'Chicago Daily News," "New York Times," and the "New York World."

On July 2, 1937, Mr. White was named the twenty-third Spingarn Medalist, principally for his untiring efforts for anti-lynch legislation.

The Purchase of this Space Affords a Welcome Opportunity to Voice our Approval of the

March on Washington Movement

We Applaud Your Past Achievements and Urge You On to Even Greater Efforts.

Our Good Will and Cooperation is Yours to Command

LOVE FUNERAL HOME

3103 Washington Ave. **JEfferson 8510**

BENNIE LOVE, President-Treasurer **LOIS LOVE, Secretary**

Program

T. D. McNEAL, Chairman

STAR SPANGLED BANNER ..... Smith, Arrangement by Raymond Carr
Celestial Choristers

INVOCATION ..... Rev. James M. Bracy
Pastor First Baptist Church

MUSIC - "Robert Brooks Body" ..... By The Audience
See Page 16 for Words

GREETINGS FROM THE CHICAGO UNIT ..... Attorney Charles Wesley Burton
Chairman Chicago Unit, March on Washington Committee

MESSAGE FROM ST. LOUIS WOMEN ..... Mrs. Sallie Parham
Nat'l Council Business and Professional Women

ST. LOUIS NEGROES & THE WAR EFFORT ..... Attorney David M. Grant

MUSIC - "Joshua fit de battle ob Jericho" ..... JOHNSON
Celestial Choristers

ADDRESS ..... Mr. Walter White
Executive Secretary NAACP

FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE, What it Means ..... Mr. Milton P. Webster
Member Fair Employment Practice Committee

MUSIC - "Freedom March" (Words by Langston Hughes) ..... Mr. Kenneth Spencer
Soloist, "Show Boat" Municipal Opera

PLAYLET - "The Watchword is Forward" ..... By Dick Campbell
Ernest Hutchinson, Director

For Program and Cast of Characters, see Page 13

COLLECTION ..... Mr. James E. Cook
Executive Secretary, Pine Street YMCA

MUSIC - "Hold On" ..... Parker
Celestial Choristers

ADDRESS ..... A. Philip Randolph
National Director, March On Washington Movement

CLOSING SONG - "We Will Not Be Moved" ..... By the Audience
See Page 16 for Words

The St. Louis Unit of the March Movement gratefully acknowledges thanks to:
MR. C. SPENCER TOCUS, Director, Celestial Choristers;
THE ALDRIDGE PLAYERS, for the loan of Mr. Hutchinson;
MRS. FRANCES T. MOSELEY of Chicago, in charge of decorations for this meeting;
THE USHERS ALLIANCE OF ST. LOUIS;
The "WE" Group for handling the sale of programs;
THE MUSICIANS EQUITY ASSOCIATION, Sub Local No. 2, the following orchestras of which rendered entertainment preliminary to the main program:
GEORGE HUDSON EDDIE JOHNSON JETER PILLARS DEWEY JACKSON

Midwest Sports Enterprises

Cheerfully Endorses the

March on Washington Movement

We believe in fair play in every field of endeavor including that of sports. We certainly subscribe to the doctrine of a square and democratic deal for the Negro People of America.

Through our efforts Sportsman's Park was opened to Negro Baseball attractions following a bar of 20 years standing. To date no one has had cause to regret the lifting of the prohibition. Great crowds of mixed nationalities have freely attended our games without racial friction of any sort. We believe this to be the true Spirit of America.

Midwest Sports Enterprises

JOHN GREEN, President **ATTY. DAVID M. GRANT, Secy.-Treas.**

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MIDWEST SPORTS ENTERPRISES

HAS SECURED THE FACILITIES OF

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LABOR DAY

It is perhaps as important to cure the Economic, Political, and Social Ills of the Negro People as to cure their Physical Ailments.

I Believe that the

March on Washington Movement

is timed strategically and will do effective work in securing the Social Justice that the Negro in America has so long been denied.

MAY GOD SPEED YOUR EFFORTS

A. M. TOWNSEND, M. D.

PHYSICIAN and SURGEON

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March

On

to

Victory

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We proudly present Mr. Dick Campbell's interesting sketch "The Watchword is Forward." Mr. Campbell lives in New York City and is the Director of the Rose McClendon Players of that city.

The Playlet, written Especially for the

March on Washington Movement

points up the picture of Racial Discrimination in the American scheme. With bold, broad, dramatic strokes, it unmasks some of the subterfuges and blinds employed to deny the black man his opportunity to succeed.

We herewith express our indebtedness to Mr. Campbell and wish to thank him for the generous manner in which he made his sketch available for our use.

The March on Washington Movement

...presents...

"THE WATCHWORD IS FORWARD"

By DICK CAMPBELL

Produced by
St. Louis Unit,
March On Washington Committee

Directed and Staged by
Ernest Hutchinson,
Director, Aldridge Players

SCENE—The Monthly Meeting of the Domestic Workers Union in a suburb of Greater St. Louis.

TIME—THE PRESENT

CAST

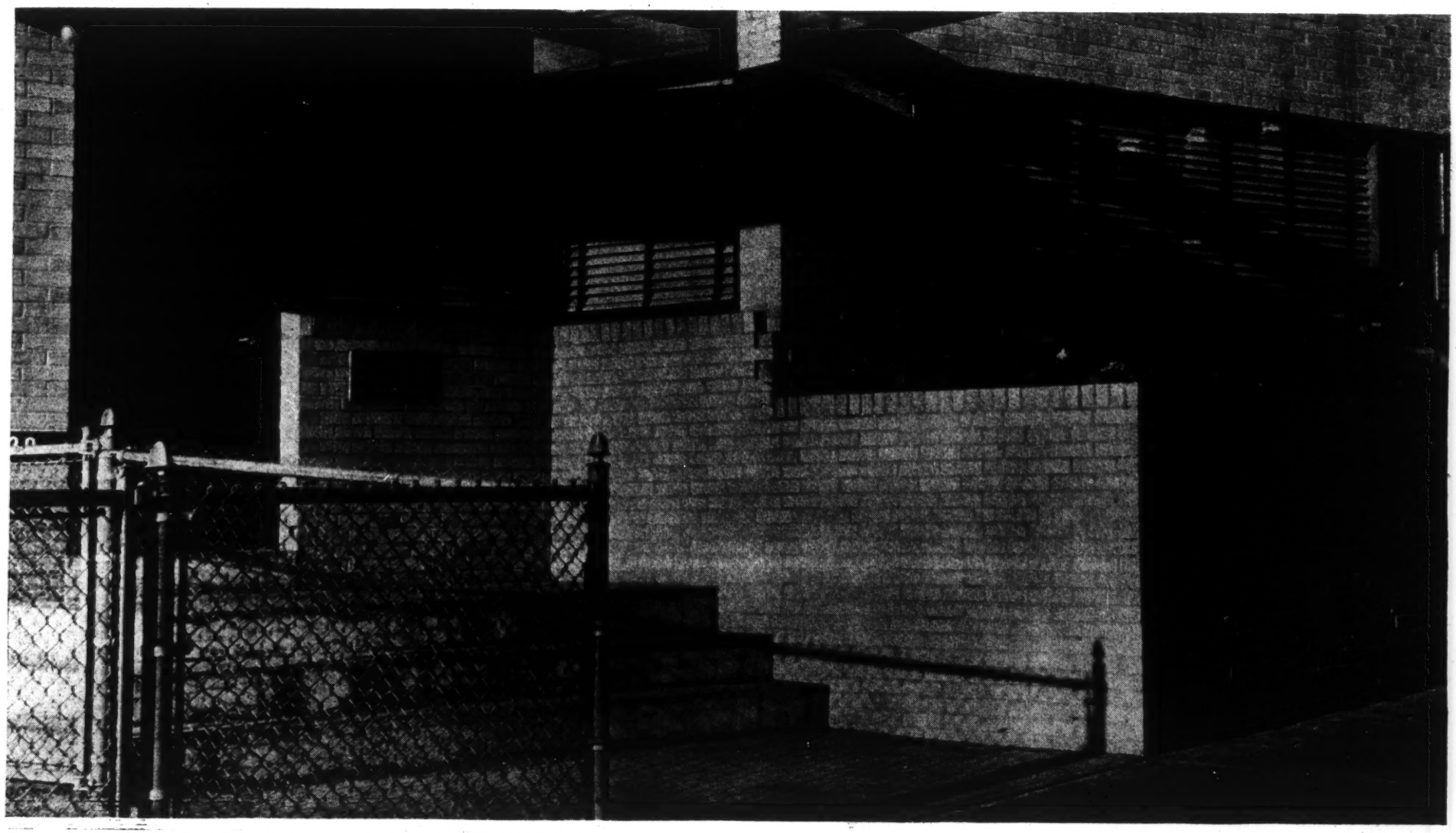
(as they speak)

NARRATOR	A Voice
JONES, President of the Union	Ernest Hutchinson
WILSON, Delegate from the March On Washington Movement	Jos. L. McLemore
RADIO MECHANIC	Emmanuel Hughes
NAVY RECRUITING OFFICER	Harold W. Ross
DEFENSE WORKER	Leyton Weston
PERSONNEL SUPERINTENDENT	T. D. McNeal
CARPENTER	Charles Kennedy
WHITE UNION OFFICIAL	David M. Grant
STENOGRAPHER	Louise E. Grant
GOLD STAR MOTHER	Fannie Pitts
WOMAN OFFICIAL	Modestine Crute
DRAFTEE	William Smith, Jr.
DRAFT BOARD OFFICIAL	Stephen J. Adams
SECRETARY	Clarice Ross

The Hampton Medical Building

2328 Market Street

GArfield 2288



CONCEIVED — ERECTED — AND CONDUCTED

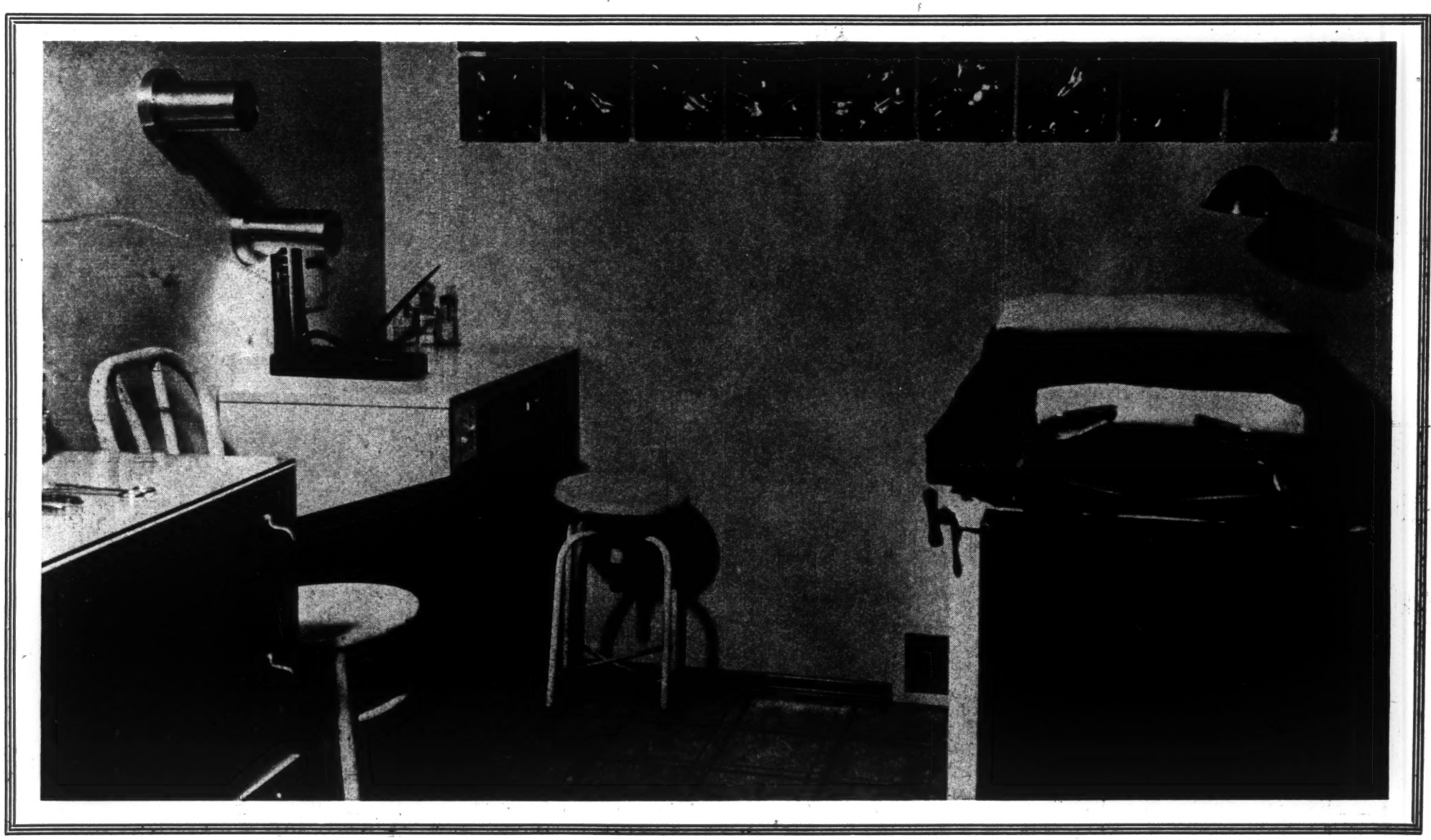
— BY —

HENRY E. HAMPTON, M. D.

With Every Best Wish for the Success of

HENRY L. HAMPTON, M. D.

TO GIVE UNSURPASSED SURGICAL CARE TO THE PEOPLE OF OUR COMMUNITY



By Courtesy of

William (Billy) Mitchell, a Grateful Patient and Member of "The March On Washington Movement"

of the March on Washington Movement

ROBERT BROOKS BODY

TUNE: "JOHN BROWN'S BODY"

I.

ROBERT BROOKS body lies a-moulding in the grave
ROBERT BROOKS body lies a-moulding in the grave
ROBERT BROOKS body lies a-moulding in the grave
But **WE** go marching on.

CHORUS

GLORY, GLORY, HALLELUJAH
GLORY, GLORY, HALLELUJAH
GLORY, GLORY, HALLELUJAH
But **WE** go **MARCHING** on.

II.

Thirteen million Negroes have been patient long enough
Thirteen million Negroes have been patient long enough
Thirteen million Negroes have decided we've had enough
So we've started MARCHING on.

III.

We DEMAND our FREEDOM, we DEMAND it here and NOW
We DEMAND our FREEDOM, we DEMAND it here and NOW
PEACEABLY we'd like it, but we'll **take** it ANYHOW
FOR we are MARCHING on.

IV.

RANDOLPH is our leader and we'll FIGHT until the end
RANDOLPH is our leader and we'll FIGHT until the end
RANDOLPH is our leader and we know we're going to win
As we go MARCHING on.

V.

A. P. R. will guide us and we'll follow far and wide
A. P. R. will guide us and we'll follow far and wide
A. P. R. will guide us and we're on the righteous side
As we go MARCHING on.

VI.

Black men want their freedom in this 'democratic' world
Black men want their freedom in this 'democratic' world
Black men want their freedom, and their battle-flag's unfurled,
As we go MARCHING on.

WE WILL NOT BE MOVED

I.

We will not, we will not be moved
We will not, we will not be moved
Just like a tree that's planted by the water
We will not be moved.

II.

Because we are AMERICANS, we will not be moved
Because we are AMERICANS, we will not be moved
Just like a tree that's planted by the water
We will not be moved.

III.

Because we march for FREEDOM, we will not be moved
Because we march for FREEDOM, we will not be moved
Just like a tree that's planted by the water
We will not be moved.

IV.

MILLIONS are UNITED, we will not be moved
MILLIONS are UNITED, we will not be moved
Just like a tree that's planted by the water
We will not be moved.

V.

We know our FIGHT is RIGHTEOUS, we will not be moved
We know our FIGHT is RIGHTEOUS, we will not be moved
Just like a tree that's planted by the water
We will not be moved.

VI.

RANDOLPH is our LEADER, we will not be moved
RANDOLPH is our LEADER, we will not be moved
Just like a tree that's planted by the water
We will not be moved.

VII.

We DEMAND DEMOCRACY and we will not be moved
We DEMAND DEMOCRACY and we will not be moved
Just like a tree that's planted by the water
We will not be moved.

VIII.

Unity gives us power, we will not be moved
Unity gives us power, we will not be moved
Just like a tree that's planted by the water
We will not be moved.

IX.

We're loyal to our country, but we will not be moved
We're loyal to our country, but we will not be moved
Just like a tree that's planted by the water
We will not be moved.

"My Country' Tis of Thee—Sweet Land of Liberty—"

FIGHT ON!

MARCH ON WASHINGTON

COMMITTEE!!

★

YOU ARE TRULY

100% AMERICANS

E. B. KOONCE, President

Our Battle Cry is . . .

VICTORY at HOME!

VICTORY ABROAD!

E. B. KOONCE ENTERPRISES

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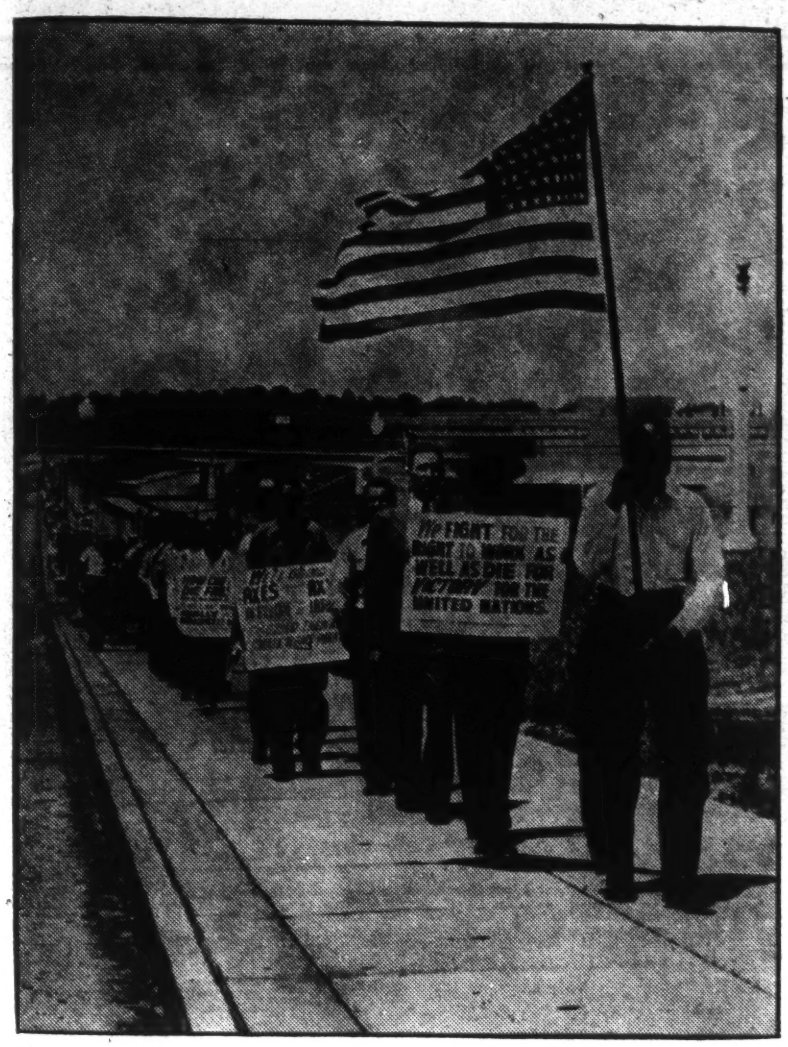

The United States Cartridge Company, employing well over 20,000 people, is one of the largest small arms ammunition plants in the world. It was built and is owned by the government, but operated under lease by the U. S. Cartridge Company.

During and following construction of this plant, leaders of the Negro community tried for more than a year through conferences, appeals, committees, etc., to get the operators of this plant to hire Negroes for production work, to employ Negro women and to grant Negro porters and laborers the pay given those who had preceded them in their jobs. THESE EFFORTS FAILED 100%.

Three weeks after the St. Louis Unit of the MARCH ON WASHINGTON COMMITTEE was organized, on June 20, 1942, to be exact, we marched on the U. S. Cartridge plant. Between four and five hundred Negroes participated in this orderly but militant yet peaceful demonstration. In the march were laborers, doctors, porters, waiters, nurses, lawyers, teachers, judges, ministers and social workers—a true cross section of the Negro community.

Two days after the march all Negro porters and laborers in the plant received pay raises. Four days after the march, about 90 Negro women were employed. The company now has about 200 skilled Negroes in training for set-up men, supervisors, inspectors, adjusters, etc., with the view of placing about 2000 Negroes on the production line. This is a concrete demonstration of the value of group action.

Study is being given to the U. S. Cartridge situation with the view of staging a larger demonstration protesting the segregated unit planned for Negro production workers, for such a unit is too easily manipulated to the disadvantage of the Negro worker and besides, it is undemocratic.

Following the meeting tonight the Committee plans to organize demonstrations against McQuay-Norris, Emerson Electric, Curtis-Wright, Carter Carburetor, The Alligator Company, American Torpedo and oher plants where vicious and open discrimination against Negro workers continues unabated. We plan to have not less than 2000 people in each of these impendiing demonstrations.

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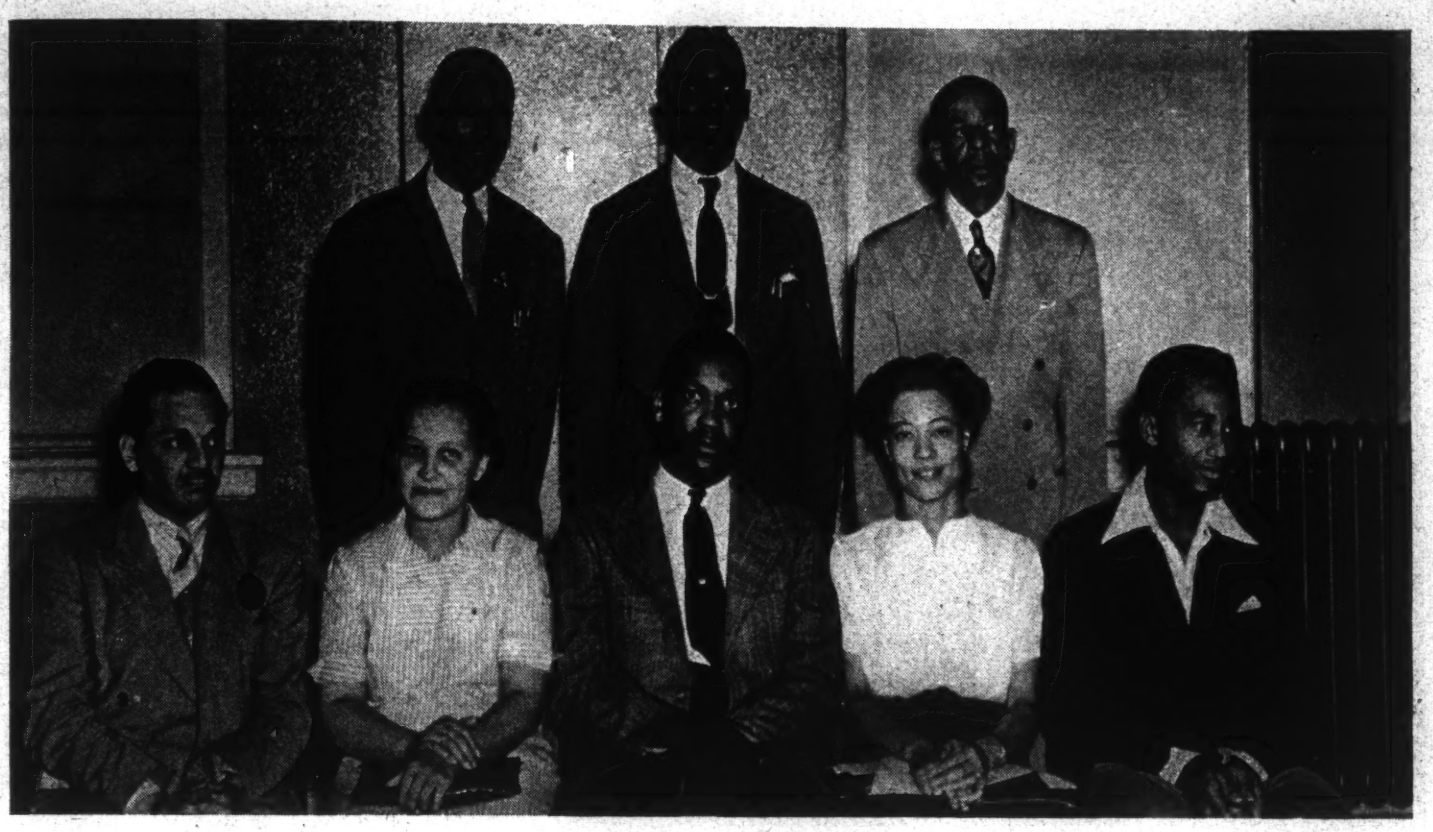

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FIRST ROW: (left to right) Dr. J. H. Grant, Margaret Hall, W. A. Dixon, Marie Pace, Wm. Atkinson.
SECOND ROW: J. F. Freeman, Wyatt Curtis, Lawrence Ousley.

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March on Washington Movement

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Interesting Notes About Our Printed Program

Scan thru the pages of this Program and notice to your suprise or perhaps astonishment, that it contains the advertising copy only of Negro Merchants, Business Men, and Professional People and what a variety there is. This did not merely JUST happen. It is a part of the ideology of the MARCH MOVEMENT, namely, that WE MUST PAY THE PRICE OF OUR OWN FREEDOM . . . that we should not expect OR PERMIT others to buy it for us, for in that event we would not and could not be truly FREE.

We believe this position to be sound and it was surprisingly easy to sell our advertisers once the position was exposed to them. Had the time been ours and our staff adequate, this program could have held many times over the 32 pages it contains.

To those who missed the opportunity to appear in these pages we extend our sincere regrets — we just COULDN'T reach every one with the pitifully few volunteers who helped.

But we will return. When, we cannot say. But when we do we will greatly broaden our field of contacts for we have learned in preparing this program that Racial Solidarity and Unity is among the Negro people: It is waiting for the mighty welder, rod in hand, to apply the torch so that TOGETHER we shall march to the haven of men who are FREE, UNSHAMED, AND FEARLESS!

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MARCH-ON-WASHINGTON MOVEMENT

ACHIEVED EXECUTIVE ORDER 8802

REAFFIRMING POLICY OF FULL PARTICIPATION IN THE DEFENSE PROGRAM BY ALL PERSONS, REGARDLESS OF RACE, CREED, COLOR, OR NATIONAL ORIGIN, AND DIRECTING CERTAIN ACTION IN FURTHERANCE OF SAID POLICY.

WHEREAS, it is the policy of the United States to encourage full participation in the national defense program by all citizens of the United States, regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin in the firm belief that the democratic way of life within the Nation can be defended successfully only with the help and support of all groups within its borders; and

WHEREAS, there is evidence that available and needed workers have been barred from employment in industries engaged in defense production solely because of considerations of race, creed, color, or national origin to the detriment of workers' morale and of national unity;

NOW, THEREFORE, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and the statutes, and as a prerequisite to the successful conduct of our national defense production effort, I do hereby reaffirm the policy of the United States that there shall be no discrimination in the employment of workers in defense industries or government because of race, creed, color, or national origin; and I do hereby declare that it is the duty of employers and of labor organizations, in furtherance of said policy and of this order, to provide for the full and equitable participation of all workers in defense industries, without discrimination because of race, creed, color or national origin;

And it is hereby ordered as follows:

1. All departments and agencies of the Government of the United States concerned with vocational and training programs for defense production shall take special measures appropriate to assure that such programs are administered without discrimination because of race, creed, color, or national origin;

2. All contracting agencies of the Government of the United States shall include in all defense contracts hereafter negotiated by them a provision obligating the contractor not to discriminate against any worker because of race, creed, color, or national origin;

3. There is established in the Office of Production Management (now War Production Board) a Committee on Fair Employment Practice, which shall consist of a chairman and six other members to be appointed by the President. The chairman and members of the Committee shall serve as such without compensation, but shall be entitled to actual and necessary transportation, subsistence and other expenses incidental to performance of their duties. The Committee shall receive and investigate complaints of discrimination in violation of the provisions of this order and shall take appropriate steps to redress grievances which it finds to be valid. The Committee shall also recommend to the several departments and agencies of the Government of the United States and to the President all measures which may be deemed by it necessary or proper to effectuate the provisions of this order.

THE WHITE HOUSE
June 25, 1941

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RAILROAD REVIEW

A NEWS-MAGAZINE FOR ALL RAILROAD EMPLOYEES OF AMERICA

VOL. 3, No. 12. CHICAGO, ILLINOIS; AUGUST, 1942 PRICE 5 CENTS 225

In This Issue . . . .

Let's Reason Together
By WALTER A. SCOTT

Unions
THE EDITOR

March-On-Washington Hampers War Effort
GEORGE F. McCRAY

Cincinnati, Chit - Chats

Plus Other Features
ATLAS PHOTO - NEWS

Dining Car Organizations will Contest Displacment of Workers by Womens?

Asserts Richard W. Smith

CHICAGO. — Richard W. Smith, secretary-treasurer of the Joint Council of Dining Car Employess issued an appeal to all dining car unionists to be exceedingly vigilant in the future to see that all new employees, including women, if the day should arrive in American transportation when they should be placed in large numbers on the nation's railroads, is carried in their proper places on the seniority rolls of each of the railroad companies.

Mr. Smith particularly pointed out that during these days it is important that the general membership of the railroad organizations be ever alert in view of the constant changes which are to be expected during these days of war, and in the light of recent occurences in the British Empire; where more than 50,000 women have replaced men in land transportation.

The jobs filled by British Railway women according to Mr. Smith, who quoted from a recent dispatch published in LABOR, "includes moulding of concrete, sleepers, de-rusting and painting railway bridges, servicing machines in the work shops, signaling and taking care of service means. The result of the mass employment of female labor on the vital railway lines of Great Britain are most satisfactory, according to union sources, and special training schools for women workers have been established."

"The day may also come in America when our immense resources of man power may be depleted by the war and I am sure at that time the railway labor

(Continued on Page Four)

Let's Reason Together

THE EMANCIPATION

By WALTER A. SCOTT

The anniversary of the Negro Emancipation Day carries our thoughts back to the time when men were chattels of the ruling class in America.

There are still those people who believe in race and class destinction and discrimination against racial groups particularly the Negro. Washington D. C. has now become the "Jeff Davis" of Southern Democracy, for thecapital is no longed ancored in Virginia where the flag of confederacy once flew, but at Washington. The proud, couragous wind of the North blew away some of the arrogance and intolerance for which the South is noted This change was brought about by time, gradual rise of the Negro in the educational world, and by politics.

The Negro tires of the Southern rule at Washington, and wants a change. But, we must EARN that change. We must bestir ourselves and think deeply when selecting men and women for political offices whom we beleive to be mindful of our interests at all times.

We must earn full emancipation by encouraging our people, young and old, to complete their education. We can't learn to much;

(Continued on page four)

THE RAILROAD REVIEW

Published Monthly

By Railroad Men for Railroad Men

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CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

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The Railroad Labor Unions

EDITORIAL

The high ranking position attained single handed by Williard S. Townsend and his organization, the United Transport Service Employees has created a noticeable stir in the ranks of all railroad employees, and again the low wailing voices of discontent is again expressing itself.

Events of recent weeks and especially arising out of the dissatisfaction in the ranks of Pullman porters that funds from their organization was used to finance the recent meetings of the March On Washington Movement, and without the voted consent of the rank and file members, the opinions of the managing editor as expressed in this syndicated column on railroad men and their problems last May 17th is being borne out.

Because of the importance of the basic contentions as they effect the present affairs of the Railroad employees we are reprinting that column in its entirety.

— The Editors

Rumbling Car Wheels

The task of building a labor union, a strong, efficient labor organization; and the more important task of gaining and keeping a large number of dues paying members is one of the newer fields that needs strong, dynamic, forceable leaders. The leaders of any active labor organization must and should have a thorough knowledge of labor laws, labor problems, and an understanding of men and Machine in his craft or industry.

Trained leaders in the labor movement are now realizing the need of the unusual power to get along with men; men in labor, men of management and men in the government. In the days ahead the demand on the leaders will be to bring some sort of peace out of a chaotic labor world. The labor world in the near future will find itself infested with government rules and regulations, communistic and dictatorship tactics, public distrust and dislike, management's distrust in union organizers, and the workers lack of faith in union leaders.

The railroad unions, like all other unions, are confronted with the same problems. Today, already, government regulations are fast finding its way in the railroad industry, and workers, especially colored, are beginning to observe the activities of their leaders with greater scrutiny. The leaders task in the days ahead will become more exacting and much harder.

Along with the ability to maintain a strong, active union the leaders will find and added problem. The leaders must be able to maintain harmony in his own organization, plus establishing a working basis of cooperation with all of the many other unions on the railroads. The final test will be as to whether the leaders will be able to establish teamwork with all of the many other employees in the industry.

In the ranks of the Pullman porters all has not gone any too well. The confusion that has filled the minds of the people of this nation has stirred the porters. Disunity and inharmony are rampant. Both organizations, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and the Pullman Porters and Maids Protective Association, are now each affected by the dissatisfaction among the Pullman porters.

While it is true and must be pointed out that the BSCP did sign a working agreement in 1937 with the Pullman management, and did revise that contract on April 18, 1941 so that according to their report the porters would net half a million dollars increased wages many of the staunchest of union members have expressed discontent at the reported accomplishment of the leaders of the organization. These men are complaining of the broken promises of their leaders, especially when the leaders had promised so much "in the bag."

While on the other hand the Protective Association who in one of their pamphlets the first of the year stated: "The successful rating of any labor organization in this day can only be rated by the absolute unselfish service above hate, greed and fear, to its membership and its fellow-man. This, of course, must be based on the real aid rendered to people in attaining the two things that we desire most from life: peace and security," is being accused by the porters of being dormant, listless and inactive in the welfare of the Pullman porter. Especially has the leadership of this organization received blame for much of its lethargy. Yet one of the organization's committees, the National Appeals and Adjustment Committee, has reported notable accomplishments in the handling of many serious grievances.

Whereas, each of the organizations have done their part in the welfare of the Pullman porter rumors now has it that some of the porters who are discontented are planning to bind themselves into one unit and seek affiliation with the CIO.

In this country of ours and according to the provisions of the Amended Railway Labor Act the employes in the railroad industry have the perfect right to join a union or not to join. They can affiliate with the AFL, the CIO or an independent union. With the ranks of the Pullman porters split into four factions: the BSCP, an AFL, affiliate; a proposed CIO affiliate; tht Pullman Porters and Maids Protective Association, an independent; and the nonunion members; the progress of this group of workers will be in doubt, gravely in doubt

We are still living in a democracy, under a form of government of the people and by the people. We are still Americans.

(Continued on Page Four)

ATTENDING the closing sessions of the Rosicrucian Order (AMORC) 17th Annual convention at San Jose, California was Managing Editor Paul E. X. Brown.

Victory At Home Victory Abroad

MARCH-ON-WASHINGTON HAMPERS TOTAL WAR EFFORT

By GEORGE F. McCRAY
Labor Editor, Associated Negro Press

RANDOLPH SHOULD SEEK INTERRACIAL COOPERATION

Perhaps the "March On Washington" movement is not as seditious as many people in Chicago are saying it is; perhaps A. Philip Randolph is the strong leader editorials in the Negro press describe him as being; however, the methods which the "March On Washington" crowd is using to organize Negro communities to protest against our legitimate grievances constitute a grave menace to the interest of Negro labor. This is the only conclusion to draw after hearing Randolph's reckless -"we-don't-give - a damn" speech before 12,000 Chicago citizens last week.

In that meeting in Chicago, Randolph and Walter White and a drama written for the occasion, accomplished at least two things. The first is an intensification of racial antagonisms and suspicions thus faking interracial labor cooperation more difficult at a time when we need it most. Secondly, the meeting will unsire, as well as that of other Negroes, ot doubtedly weaken the Negro worker desire as well as that of other Negroes to give enthusiastic support to the war effort. These two effects are the inevitable results of the narrow racial basis upon which the "March On Washington" crowd is recruiting members.

Hampers War Effort

In spite of the hurried qualifications and slight exceptions which were sprinkled through thhe major speeches, the sum total message was that undemocratic elements here in the United States are far more dangerous to Negroes than is a victorious Fascism. Only passing reference was made to the supreme task of defeating Hitler and winning the war.

However, quite a point was made of "the crackerism" of men like Congressman Rankin. Yes, Hitler represents Rankin "crackerism" magnified a thousand fold. Not a word was said to point Hitler out as the world's champion Negro hater and that Negroes in self defense like other Americcan citizens should direct all of their energies toward his defeat.

Does this omission mean that Randolph and white are Axis agents? It most certainly does not. The very idea is perfectly ridiculous. However, their over-emphasis, or better, disproportionate emphasis on our domestic ills would blind Negroes to greater menace Hitlerism.

What We Are Fighting For

Walter White touched the core of our problem when he stated we must fight for the right to fight for democracy. In spite of Randolph's eloquence, maximum use of the military and productive manpower represented in Negroes is not mainly or exclusively the problem of Negroes. It is the problem if all our citizens white or black, and it is our duty, since we understand the problem better, to convince our fellow citizens who are white of the urgent need to remove all barriers to the full participation of Negroes in the war program.

In this latter undertaking it is destructive of national unity to argue that we should not welcome the support of all our citizens who wish to lend a hand in this fight whether he be Jew, Catholic, yellow, white, or brown. After all, is it not from various members of these groups that we are seeking recognition of our claim for equal participation in American life? Are we to reject that recognition when it is offered to us?

American Democracy In Action

While Randolph called American democracy a miserable failure his associate Milton Webster gave a report which convinced me that in spite of our national shortcomings, serious as they are, American democracy is still the most vigorous democracy in the world today. One could not think of such a meeting at which all this talk was going on being held anywhere in continental Europe where Hitler has established his power. The only positive statement of what we have at stake came from Webster, who as a member of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices gave an impressive account of what the committee had been able to achieve. To me this speech meant one thing, that in America a minority can make tremendous gains toward equality if organized and led by men with sense enough to express the interests of that minority in terms of the interests of the whole nation. How otherwise can a minority cease to be a minority with special problems?

Grave Errors

Thus I think the "March On Washington" leadership is guilty of two grave errors at a time when grave errors become disastrous errors. They are failing to make it clear to Negroes that their greatest enemy is Adolph Hitler who thinks Negroes are sub-human beasts; they are failing to point out that as a minority group we need strong allies to support our demand for full and equal participation in American society.

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LET'S REASON TOGETHER

(Continued from page one)

and learning is the key.

The president and Mrs. F. D. Roosevelt have done much to assist the Negro in making wonderful progress; but still better results can be gained by surrending them with more liberal, for sighted representatives of the race who would be on guard for tricky and treacherous politics ahead.

CINCINNATI CHAT CHAT

Miss Edna Jane Hunter, founder of the Phillis Wheatly Association of Cleveland,, Ohio was elected state president of the Ohio Federation of Colored Women's Clubs. Mrs. Eva Bowles of Cincinnati's 1st Vice-President, other delegates from Cincinnati were: Mesdames Lulu O. McClure retiring President, Emma T. Baker, Cora Lee Taylor, Saluda Randall, and Elizabeth Greer.

Three groups enjoyed the bring - your-own - lunch picnic on the beautiful lawn of Mr. and Mrs. George Cummins. Participating organizations were: The Ladies Auxilitay to the Protective Association of which Mrs. Sallie Lampkins is the president Ladies Union of Covington Mrs. Ethel Winn, president, The Fidelia Club of the City Federation, Mrs. Larenia Whitlaw, president.

The Cincinnati Negro Community observed Double Victory Day July 20th. Stanley Roberts is the executive secretary of the Cincinnati VV Council.

The Campaign had its beginning from a letter written by James G. Thompson of Wichita, Kansas to the Pittsburg Courier. The slogan of VV was quickly adopter by Negroes throughout the country,

In our last issue we ommitted the names of Mrs. Kelly Lemons, Treasurer of the Ladies Auxiliary to the Protective Association.

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EXECUTIVE BOARD OF PORTERS ASSOCIATION TO MEET AUGUST 18th

By W. H. JOHNSON

Chicago, Ill. In a message of vital significance during these war days and especially noting the rapid changing factors effecting Negro railroad workers the national officials through the Chairman of the Executive Board, C. E. Kendrick, New York City, of the Pullman Porters and Maids Protective Association urged all of their officials to attend the Executive Council meeting at Chicago on August 18th and 19th.

President J. T. Reid had issued a proclamation announcing the Executive Council meeting in lieu of the National convention this year due to war conditions and the unusual heavy demand for all available manpower in the transportation field; which has been brought on by military and civialian travel.

The executive committee has asked all the national organizers to attend this meeting for information of importance to them in the future work of their offices. And among other things some definite plans will be drawn up to combat current wave of intiminadition and coercion now being heaped on the heads of new men of the pullman service and many of the older employees.

Among those invited to address this gathering of Porters officials are Mr. George F. McCary of the Midwest Labor Bureau and labor editor of the Associated Negro Press and Paul E. X. Brown Managing editor of the "RAILROAD Review."

RUMBLING CAR WHEELS — — —

(Continued from page two)

But, where there is so much disharmony and disunity something must be wrong with the existing agencies somewhere. If the problems of the Pullman porters are growing in such proportion that an added split will divide these workers then it is about time that the organizations among the Porters realize their mistakes and weaknesses. The leaders of both of the present organizations must know that the men in the labor movement are looking for security and protection, and not glowing promises; that lasting active membership in the labor organization of today is maintained on truth, honesty and sincerity of purpose.

—Courtesy United News Feature Service

Ill seriously this month was Mrs. Maggie Wolf, wife of senior Demonstrator, Jake Wolf and aunt of Rev. Denitt Turpeau, pastor of the Indiana Methodist Church.

Visiting at the bedside of the comely matron, who has thrilled many an enthsiatic gatherings with her music, were Honorable David Turpeau of Cincinnati, Ohio and member of the State Legislature and her sister, Mrs. Carrie Connally of Washington, D. C.

DINING CAR ORGANIZATIONS —

(Continued from page one)

unions, including the dining car unions, will be willing to have women perform such duties as they are capable of performing on the railroads," further asserted Mr. Smith.

Mr. Smith did not fail to point out that dining car men must watch the movement carefully and very closely for in two instances carriers have attempted to place waitresses in train service jobs without the proper observation of the seniority rights of waiters already in service. He was careful to stress and have it undertood that he did not want the men of the dining car trades to oppose the hiring of any persons by the railroads because of race, color, creed or sex, but he was insistent that such new persons employed by the Carriers must be placed at the bottom of the seniority list, and that all jobs available to this craft of workers be open to all workers of the craft in line with their years of service with the carriers.

PORTER ASSESSED SIXTY DAYS

Porter Percy Hampton, who was purpoted to have been arrested and sentenced, by unsubstantive evidence of a Saint Louis women on questionable grounds; and later released in a questionable manner by the courts of Saint Louis was assesed sixty days by his superiors in a hearing before the Pullman management.

Porter Hampton was represented by the Pullman Porters and Maids Protective Association, which in their argument to save the job of this porter offered in evidencethe tactic of the courts in passing sentence and the lack of proper court records to prove that this man had actual committed the stated offense futher questioned the method used by the courts in releasing the defendant, thus they contended that the employee should not be deprived of hi job on the grounds as stated.

Porter W. G. Leake, Cincinnati, District a member of the Protective Associative, died suddenly July, 9th Gallup, New Mexico while he was out on his run. Funeral services were held Monday, July 13th from the Renfro Funeral Home.

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Do You Know About the Job Training Program?

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AT 2:00 P. M.

AND HEAR

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N. Y. EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, URBAN LEAGUE

MR. GUICHARD PARRIS

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IONA MORRIS, Executive Secretary, N. Y. Local

Missing pages 10 & 16

THE JOURNAL

January, 1943 Official Organ

ANNUAL MEETING NUMBER

OKLAHOMA ASSOCIATION OF NEGRO TEACHERS

State Teachers Retirement Plan.

Equalization of Salaries in the Separate and Majority Schools.

Accrediting of Langston University by the North Central agency.

Equal opportunities in defense employment.

CONVENTION THEME:

"Teaching Pupils to Think Creatively"

Thirty-fifth Annual Session—February 11, 12, 13, 1943

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

WIN THE WAR—BRING THIS PROGRAM WITH YOU TO EACH SESSION—SAVE PAPER

OFFICIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS AND DIRECTORY

Convention Headquarters ..... Douglass High School
Registration for Homes ..... Room 216
Association's Secretary ..... Room 215
Annual Dues, Membership Cards and Badges ..... Room 216
Information Desk, Mrs. G. W. Washington, Director ..... Room 206
Business Council ..... First Session, Thursday, February 11, 4:00 p. m., Douglass Auditorium
Business Council ..... Second Session, Friday, February 12, 3:30 p. m.
Election of Officers ..... Friday, February 12, 12:30 Noon
(All members are urged to cast their ballots during the three hours allotted for this voting.)
Memorial Exercises, 8:00-8:10 p. m. ..... Municipal Auditorium
Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers in Executive Session Friday, February 18, immediately after the General Session, Douglass Auditorium. (Every member of the Association is urged to attend.)

Official Meetings

Executive Committee, Thursday, February 11, 2:00 p. m. ..... Room 215, Douglass High School
First Session of the Business Council, Thursday, February 11, 4:30 p. m. ..... Library, Douglass High School
Second Session of the Business Council, Friday, February 12, 3:30 p. m. ..... Auditorium, Douglass High School
Executive Session of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers, 12:30 Noon, Saturday, February 18, Auditorium, Douglass High School. (This includes every member of the Association)

Departmental Room Directory

TIME: All departmental meetings will be held between 9:30 a. m. and 1:00 p. m. Double sessions will come within that time with a short intermission between the sessions as desired.

Administrative Department ..... Room 214
Rural Education Department ..... Room 205
Vocational Agriculture and Extension Department ..... Room 303
Art Department ..... Room 202
Commercial Department ..... Room 314
Intermediate Department ..... Room 208
Junior High School Department ..... Room 315
Primary Department ..... Auditorium
Junior and Senior High School English Department ..... Room 301
Home Economics Department ..... Room 204
Manual Arts Department ..... Rooms 112-113
Mathematics Department ..... Room 213
Music Department ..... Room 209
Physical Education Department—Men's Division ..... Room 110
Physical Education Department—Women's Division ..... Gymnasium
Natural Science Department ..... Room 307
Social Science Department ..... Room 309
Guidance Department ..... Room 305
Visual Education Department ..... Room 117
Department of Languages ..... Room 111
Department of School Secretaries ..... Room 315

First Session of Business Council, Lucius L. McGee, Presiding

Announcement of the Council and Business Session ..... Stenographic Secretary
Invocation.
Seating of Delegates to the Council.
Brief Report of the State of the Association ..... President Lucius L. McGee
Report of the Executive Committee to the Council.
Report of Committees:
(a) Legislative
(b) Constitutional Changes and Amendments
(c) Special Committee on Publication of Journal.

Second Session of Business Council, Lucius L. McGee, Presiding

Invocation.
Minutes of the First Session. ..... Secretary
Unfinished Business of the First Session.
Report of Association's Secretary (Mimeograph copies to each delegate)
Report of Association's Treasurer (Mimeograph copies to each delegate)
Report of Resolutions Committee.
Report of the Executive Committee on Appropriations and Budget 1942.
Appointment of Auditing Committee and designation of time to report.

THE JOURNAL

OKLAHOMA ASSOCIATION OF NEGRO TEACHERS

Okmulgee, Oklahoma

February 1943
Vol. IX

Official Organ
No. 1

. . OFFICERS . .

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LUCIUS L. McGEE, Oklahoma City

Vice-President

CALVIN R. JOHNS, Seminole

Secretary

CARRIE BRITTON-CLARDY,
Choctaw

Treasurer

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. EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE .

S. S. BRADLEY, 1943, Ada.

R. T. GRACEY, 1943, Bartlesville.

H. S. HUGHES, 1944, Tulsa.

L. K. JACKSON, 1944, Binger

L. D. LAWSON, 1945, Oklahoma City.

R. G. PARRISH, 1945, Chickasha.

. . EDITOR OF JOURNAL . .

W. E. Anderson, Okmulgee

CONTENTS

FOREWORD 5

WAR ACTIVITIES OF THE SCHOOLS 6

DUNBAR HIGH SCHOOL VICTORY CORPS CREED 7

SAFE-GUARDING CHILDHOOD DURING WARTIME 8

EDITORIALLY SPEAKING 8

TO DELEGATES OF THE BUSINESS COUNCIL 9

GENERAL CONVENTION SESSIONS 10

DEPARTMENTAL PROGRAMS 11

OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES 14

LOCAL COMMITTEES OF OKLAHOMA CITY ASSOCIATION
OF TEACHERS IN SEPARATE SCHOOLS 15

PLATFORM GUESTS 15

SOME GENERAL SESSION SPEAKERS 16

SOME GENERAL SESSION SPEAKERS 17

FOREWORD

Lucius L. McGee, President, O. A. N. T.

The 35th Annual Meeting of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers convenes this year amid the unprecedented restrictions and rationing, and of what is perhaps our country's most bitter war. Normalcy is so remote from our times that it is doubtful whether that word ever will find a place in the description of American life again. Certainly, if it is ever used again, it will have far different connotation. Even the inconvenience, difficulties, and travel accommodations show themselves when one attempts to go beyond the portals of his own house. But in spite of all this and more, we are and should meet this year because our future is not so well assured as a group; and while many other things are in the process of being changed, it benefits us to seek our future well-being in these changing situations.

We must remember that liberty, freedom, and equality are never conferred upon a group nor do they come from the hand of Santa Claus. These are things which one contends for and refuses to be satisfied with less. As teachers we want the same things other teachers get; better salaries, better buildings, better courses, better teachers, better principals, better tenure, better retirement. On the other hand, we want better places for our youth in the defense and production centers of this, every American's war. We want better places in the combat units, better representation on the various boards and bureaus. If America is going all-out for bureaucracy, we want to be bureaucrats also. Let us no longer be lulled by that minority group anesthesia which tells us to wait; this is no time to talk about that now. Yes, now is the time to let every other American know for what this group of Americans are striving. Yes we will buy bonds, pay heavy income and victory taxes, fight on foreign soil and defend "Old Glory" on the seven seas, but we shall insist that the "four freedoms" shall apply to every American underneath the "Stars and Stripes" as well as to peoples in the war torn countries of the Eastern Hemisphere.

Let those remain at home who are satisfied with their present places in American life. If they are satisfied, so let them be. But a great philosopher once said: "Dissatisfaction is the mainspring of progress." Thus let me urge that you make the sacrifice and endure the travel inconvenience for this meeting. Do you remember when there were no buses and few cars in Oklahoma? Well we had meetings then and good ones at times, even though it took us a whole day to elect a president. If there are superintendents who refuse to grant you the opportunity to attend this, your one and only meeting of your teachers association, I will appreciate it if you will let me know. I shall be glad to make a personal request of him on behalf of the Association. It will be well worth your coming if you did no more than hear President Henry A. Bennett of Oklahoma A. and M. college, President Joseph A. Brandt of the University of Oklahoma along with President Harrison of Langston, and to see and hear the inimitable and internationally known A Philip Randolph speaking on the subject: "The Negro and the War." And if you don't know A. Philip Randolph, just ask somebody who does.

Here is hoping to see you February 11-13, in Oklahoma City.

LUCIUS L. McGEE, President.

For Victory . . .

Buy U. S. War Bonds

WAR ACTIVITIES OF THE SCHOOLS

Oklahoma schools are putting forth serious and intelligent effort to implement the total and all-out war efforts of our national administration. Reports from the schools indicate certain major changes in curriculum organization and in extra-curricular practices. These changes, as the reports indicate, are being made timely and systematically. If such is the case, it bespeaks a salubrious condition in the schools for Negroes in this state.

These wartime activities fall generally into certain specific catgories according to an analysis which Edward J. Russell makes elsewhere. The schools are committed first to the principle of conserving the mental health of the children. Dean C. James states that the faculty of Lincoln high school, Wynnewood.

> "has recognized the profound effect that the war has upon the educational set-up as a whole and that the Lincoln high school has geared its activities in and all-out effort to aid its pupils to adjust themselves to the problems of their time. The patriotic spirit of cooperation being instilled in them in their childhood will develop them into citizens better prepared to serve their country in any capacity whether it be farmer, clergyman, lawyer, doctor, president, or what not."

According to Miss C. C. Deane, Principal The Attucks Primary School, Okmulgee, has accepted this goal through the development of "a satisfying and significant program." Says she:

> "Ever since this war began our school has taken steps to coordinate, unify, and emphasize the activities of education which protect, conserve, and enrich the lives of each child. The selection of the services best suited to pupils and community has created a satisfying and significant program."

E. R. Roper states that the Geary schools have given impetus to programs designed to improve mental health "by observing special procedures and placing emphasis upon those things which develop and maintain a high degree of civilian morale in classroom, in chapel, and in the activity program."

The second basic goal of the schools is that of the preservation of that which is vital in education and at the same time effecting such alterations and innovations as will insure the speedy and economical winning of the war.

From Okmulgee's High School principal comes this statement:

> "Our first responsibility is the preservation of that which is vital in public education. Because we read that the war has created a demand for thousands of technicians, we must not minimize the importance of the humanities, the pure sciences, the fine arts in the development and ennoblement of human life. The technician, in this emergency, has become indispensable, but his indispensability has created a greater need for a disciplined intellectuality. Our need then is not less education but more. We shall need the findings of the scientists, the precise calculations of the mathematicians, and the inspiring melodies of the poets. Truly 'man shall not live by bread alone.'"

Said Roper, "the schools must take the lead in every community as a conditioning center for our war, its production, its winning, and its lasting peace program.

Alexander of Nowata reports:

> "The school is sponsoring one of the largest academic and extra-curricular activities of its career through the cooperation of patrons and student body. The theme for our school activities may be summarized thusly: 'Self Improvement' through ethics and physical education, 'Thrift', 'Cooperation', 'Education in the Present', and an 'Appreciation for nature, for our community, and for our government.' The above topics are all in harmony with our endeavor to carry out the program of National Defense through the school."

Miss Strong of McAlester states that:

> "The L'Overture High School has included both its curricular and extra-curricular program as vital activities designed to contribute to a nation at war. A physical fitness program meeting the health needs of all pupils has been introduced into the school curriculum and it is functioning effectively. National Defense Training classes in electricity, carpentry, auto - mechanics, mental-welding, and farm-production are preparing men and women to meet the labor needs of the nation."

From S. L. Ayers of Pawhuska comes the inspiration to gird ourselves for the battle of freedom. Said he:

> "Americans are fighting on foreign shores for freedom. We at home have a 'front' within our midst — Education for Freedom. Booker T. Washington school is waging this war through the cooperation efforts of the administration, faculty, patrons, and students.
>
> "In cooperation with the National Victory Program, we have participated in the Scrap Drive, organized Junior Red Cross Units, and rearranged our class schedule so that high school students may go to school and do part time jobs as well —thus helping to relieve the labor shortage and at the same time assist with their financial obligations.
>
> "In order to develop initiative and good citizenship in general, the following organizations are functioning: Girl Reserves, Girls' Glee Club, Pep Squad, Homemaking Club, Hi-Y, Boy Scouts, and Home Room Clubs. These clubs are exceedingly beneficial and stimulating.
>
> "As trustees of the most important agency of civilization in a world of war torn nations, the foundations of democracy at home can best be fortified by re-enforcing the first line of our internal defense."

F. D. Moon, principal, Douglass High School, Oklahoma City, writes:

> "Among the war time activities of Douglass high school, Oklahoma City, may be included (a) the sale of defense bonds and stamps, which amounts to approximately four hundred dollars per month; (b) the scrap drive in which over forty thousand pounds of scrap was collected; (c) a regular course in preflight instruction carrying full credit toward graduation. This course is taught by E. R. Bennett

who himself is a holder of civilian pilot license. A member of this class, Fulton Harris, a senior, has already had his first solo flight. (d) Not directly connected with the school but meeting on school property are classes in acetylene welding, electrical service and aircraft sheet metal. Some of these classes have met twenty-four hours a day, consisting of two and three different shifts."

West, of Luther, reports a scientific interest.

"The students of the Science Department are striving to perform perfect experiments, for they believe that accuracy will help them greatly to become good soldiers, sailors, nurses, etc."

The third goal of war-time activities is to adjust and adapt the curriculum and extra-curriculum so as to enable pupils to participate directly in a series of activities which contribute to the successful waging of the war.

At the Washington High School, Luther, each homemaking girl has contributed ten cents to help raise the funds to aid in the purchase of a one thousand dollar war bond for the State F. H. O. club. In addition to this Washington high school has enrolled one hundred per cent in the Junior Red Cross, First Aid and Home Nursing courses are being offered, and more emphasis is being placed on nutrition.

Mrs. Graves of the Douglass High School, Chandler, is the head of a special committee which is planning to send a colorful scrap book of posters and happenings to the Department of Publications. The boys of the Vocational Agriculture Department under the direction of Mr. Guest, have more than 500 broilers ready for market.

A defense course in Engineering Drawing is being offered at the Lincoln high school, Wynnewood, Oklahoma. Certain courses including Aeronautics, Aircraft Blue Print Reading, Machine Shop Blue Print Reading, Mechanical Drafting have been added to the curriculum. The homemaking departments are responsible for such projects as knitting sweaters for the Red Cross and making dresses and blouses for the Red Cross.

Dunbar High School Victory Corps Creed

Vigilant in action
Idealistic in mind
Cooperative with others
True to our country
Observant in attitude
Respectful to leaders
Yielding to service

Courageous in character,
Optimistic in thought
Responsive to duties
Progressive in industry
Superior in all things.

—Dolly Palmer
English II
Okmulgee, Oklahoma.

The Social Science Department of Douglass High School, Geary, is utilizing current news magazines in connection with their regular assignments. These assignments usualcover happenings on the home front.

The fourth and final goal of war-time activities is the initiation and organization of community projects and their implementation through teacher and pupil participation.

The Industrial Arts Department of Luther, under the capable direction of the veteran J. E. Rose, is doing an exceptional job.

"In this department the boys are learning to remake and design simple pieces of furniture and how to make window frames. To aid the project of moving pictures, they have just completed a set of dark screens for the windows in our school auditorium and have also screened the windows and doors of the Domestic Science Department. The framing of a one-story house on one of the community farms is another project of theirs. This department has not forgotten the soldiers, for the boys have begun to make such articles as checkers, and checker boards, lap boards, and writing boards for the soldiers in the hospitals."

Miss Deane's war savings stamp program has brought by substantial saving of the incomes of the people in her community. This money has been diverted from unnecessary spending for non-essentials to vital production for our armed forces.

"Every boy and girl is taught to see that regular saving through War Stamps and Bonds is the responsibility of every citizen, young and old—and that the need for money is part of every phase of the effort and every plan for peace."

In McAlester "the homemaking girls", according to Miss Strong, "are playing a dynamic role in National Defense through practice and teaching the principles of nutrition to community homemakers." Wynnewood organized a Defenders club which sponsored victory garden projects and canned food for each family represented in the club

Dunbar High School, Okmulgee, has in operation a Victory Corps which has coordinated the pupil-teacher-community war activities. The students report that the physical fitness period has done more to produce the tough fibre that is necessary to win the war than any physical education activities in which previously engaged. In addition to this the student body has committed itself to a five-point program through a common agreement to:

1. Reduce the consumption of scarce commodities such as sugar, coffee, rubber, paper, fuel, and electric power.
2. Take care of the school and other public property, including books, and playground equipment.
3. Share with others so that available goods may serve the greatest number.
4. Prolong the life of equipment and clothing by careful use, prompt repair, and cleaning.
5. Buy only essentials for personal use wisely and economically.

Certainly one must assume that many of the activities above enumerated are typical of many other schools the names of which do not show in this summary. My observation and conversation with many pupils and teachers conduce to the conviction that the schools for Negroes in this state are fully recognizing, understanding, and discharging their full duty in the nation's war effort.

—The Editor.

"Safe-Guarding Childhood During Wartime"

Theme of the Sixteenth Annual Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers

With the realization that the youth of the world will bear the brunt of the present world conflict, the parents and teachers of Oklahoma at the annual meeting of the congress in Okmulgee, November 12, 13, 14, determined to devise ways by which the child may be safe-guarded in wartime.

The first session of the congress was centered around a discussion of the theme. Mr. Anderson opened the discussion and the members of the congress entered heartily into the discussion and gave very helpful suggestions. Some of the ways we can help safeguard the child during wartime, as stated, are:

1. Give the child the proper medical attention.
2. Strive to establish proper home environment.
3. Study the child's physical, ethical, and social growth needs.
4. Provide guidance in economics so the child may learn the fundamental values of money.
5. The child's religious needs should be directed in order that his spiritual well being may be safeguarded.
6. Provisions should be made to maintain the proper morale in the community in which you live.
7. Adequate recreational projects should be set up to allow the child the correct amusement during his leisure time.
8. Parent education should be given for parents through the local units.

A hospitable welcome program was presented by the Okmulgee unit during the second session, Thursday night. Mr. G. R. Ragland, jr., superintendent of D. B. & O., Taft, was the principal speaker of the evening. He delivered a very stimulating address on the theme, in which he described parents and teachers as shapers of the lives of youth.

To analyze the attitudes and reactions of youth in the present war, an institute was held Friday morning, November 13, on "Youth and the Present War." The speakers attempted to determine if schools and communities are giving sufficient guidance and help to youth, all of whom want to win the war, and most of whom recognize the necessity to win the peace. Mrs. Ruby Burt, supervisor of Okmulgee county schools, spoke on Educational Standards. She stated that youth must be trained for jobs that are needed, and that the educational program must be revised to care for new demands. Speaking on Ethical Standards, Reverend H. M. Nelson of Okmulgee, declared that youth is the world's greatest reservoir of hope; that we must realize the old and the young have some things in common; that we must promote the general morale of our fighting men; and that we must work to prevent the breaking down of ethical ideals of youth. If youth is to cling to those ideals, he stated, we must secure a lasting and permanent peace.

The Social Standards of the world, said Mr. G. L. Buford of Okmulgee, must be respected. The present war is an outcome of a lack of the world to respect social standards, hence, youth must be taught the responsibility of one individual to another. Mr. George Tilmon of Boley, in his discussion of Economic Standards, remarked that the greatest problem facing youth is whether to stop school and earn money or to complete school with the probability of unemployment in the future. He must, said Mr. Tilmon, be taught how to use finance.

Banneker school of Okmulgee presented an interesting program. Mrs. Ashley then introduced Mrs. M. E. Williams, president of the Arkansas State P.-T.A. and Mrs. R. C. McShane from the Office of Price Administration, Dallas, Texas. Mrs. McShane talked on Consumer Education and explained the types of pamphlets available for clubs, P.T.A. units, etc. Following this talk, the delegates introduced themselves. Some unit reports were made, after which Attucks school, Okmulgee, presented a program.

Preceding the evening session a patriotic pageant was presented by the students of Dunbar high school, Okmulgee. After devotion the first vice-president, Mr. Ira Hall of Oklahoma City, who was the presiding officer of the evening, introduced Mrs. M. E. Williams who spoke on the work of the P.-T.A. Congress in safe-guarding childhood in wartime. At the close of her talk she recited the National P.-T.A. Congress Wartime Pledge. She pointed out that the national organization has bought two one-thousand dollar war bonds. Mrs. Blye of Vinita, presented a beautiful piano solo, after which Mr. Hall presented Mr. James Nevins, County Superintendent of Schools, Okmulgee. His talk centered around the rural youth.

The final session of the congress was held Saturday morning. After transacting the business before it, the congress adjourned to meet in Tulsa in November, 1943.

—Miss Cecille Vinita Evans,
Secretary, State Congress
of Colored Parents and
Teachers.

EDITORIALLY SPEAKING . . .

A Specific Program Which Should Engage Our Attention at the Thirty-fifth Annual Session of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers.

A. Anent the Association Per Se

1. Give the Business Council requisite constitutional change through authority to meet annually in lieu of the Association for the purpose of carrying on the business of the Association provided present and subsequent OPA restrictions make it impossible to hold general sessions.
2. Set up a policy commission of nine members to develop basic formulas for post war rehabilitation.
3. Change the constitution in order to make it possible to complete the election of the association at least two months before the date of the annual meeting.
4. Place the election of the secretary and treasurer in the Business Council.

B. Anent the War

1. Provide plans within the province of the association to the schools of the state whereby said schools may effectively implement the war program.
2. Provide for the security of the jobs of men who have been inducted into the service in whatever ways and wherever such is possible.

C. Anent School Finances

1. A state aid program which will enable skill in financialy weak districts to carry on enrichment programs commensurate with those in rich or financially strong districts.
2. Salary increases equal to the rise in the cost of living for all members of the teaching profession provided that teachers now in the lower salary brackets shall receive proportionately a larger increase.

D. Anent Teacher Security

1. Retirement law that will enable teachers to retire with dignity, social and economic security.
2. Teacher tenure laws which will give greater security to teachers.

E. Anent Education and Social Security for Negroes

1. Enactment of laws which clearly define the means for the support and maintenance of Negro schools.
2. More liberal provision for graduate study.
3. The placement of Negroes in supervisory positions where such placement will best serve the interest of Negroes.
4. Secure a larger job placement of Negroes in non-skilled positions.

F. Anent Administrative Control of Negro Institutions

1. The establishment of a separate Board of Regents on the pattern of the University of Oklahoma to administer Langston University, Langston, Oklahoma.
2. A Negro Board for the eleemosynary institutions at Taft, Boley, and such others as may hereafter be established.

G. Anent Langston University

1. Secure the necessary appropriations to effect the accreditation of Langston University in the North Central Association.
2. Formulate a definite expression of opposition to the traditional four-year change of the administrative head of Langston University.

FOR VICTORY BUY UNITED STATES BONDS ★ STAMPS

TO DELEGATES TO THE BUSINESS COUNCIL:

For several years past we have let ourselves get into the habit and perhaps need of midnight and later sessions of the Business Council. Certainly this is something that we as leaders no longer need. In fact, its effects have been worse than its accomplishments. For one thing sure it has caused many who once were able and earnest workers in the organization, to retire from active service because petty arguments and sometimes filibustering of die-hards, have prolonged our Council meetings into early morning hours of night. As intelligent and cultural leaders, let us come to our meetings on time, transact our business thoughtfully and turn to other gainful phases of our Annual Meetings. The Business Council certainly was not created as an arena for blocs nor for a speech-making forum. It is not even necessary for every member of the Council to make a speech, nor raise an objection to a motion, nor delay procedure by offering substitutes, nor rising to quesion of personal privilege even though such is the right of every member, and I would in no way deprive him of such. But generally your vote for or against has far more weight in determining a question than your unreadiness. Sometimes there are delegates who seem to be sitting on eternal springs for they request the floor on every issue, oftimes making up their minds while they are on the floor. But they are no worse than those who seek personal debates on issues at the expense of a house desiring to settle the matter by immediate vote.

As your presiding officer at these meetings, I wish every member to feel free to exercise the full rights of his Franchise, but I am appealing to your best judgment and discretion that we get through our meeting on scheduled time.

LUCIUS L. McGEE, President.

Note: Remember the Business is open to all members of the Association, but only duly elected delegates with certified credentials have the right of voice and vote.—L. L. M.

GENERAL CONVENTION SESSIONS

OKLAHOMA ASSOCIATION OF NEGRO TEACHERS

Thursday Afternoon, Feb. 11—2:30 p. m.

Douglass High School

THEME: "Teaching Pupils to Think Creatively."

Presiding, Mr. Lucius L. McGee, president, Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers

Pre-program Concert—1:45 to 2:30 p.m.
Douglass high school orchestra

Music—Douglass High School chorus.

Invocation—
Reverend J. G. Hollis, pastor, Cleaves Memorial Temple C. M. E. Church

Music—Douglass High School Boys' Glee club.

Welcome on behalf of Oklahoma City—
Mr. H. E. Bailey, City Manager

Welcome on behalf of Negro Chamber of Commerce of Oklahoma City—Attorney J. J. Bruce

Welcome on behalf of County schools—
Mrs. Ethel Fowler Dowell, County Superintendent

Welcome on behalf of City schools—
Honorable J. Wiley Richardson, president, Oklahoma City Board of Education

Response on behalf of the State Association of Negro Teachers—Mr. S. S. Bradley, Member of Executive Committee, Principal of Napier High School, Ada.

Address—Mr. A. H. Fuhr, president, Langston university Alumni association

Music—Dunjee High School. Choctaw.

Address—Dean James Taft Freeman, Oklahoma School of Religion, Langston

Music—Douglass High School Chorus.

Announcements—

Benediction—Father Clement A. Roach, St. Peter Claver Catholic Church

(Immediately after this session the Business Council will meet)

Second General Session

Institutional Night

Thursday, February 11, 8:00 p.m.—Douglas high school

Presiding—Lucius L. McGee, president, Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers

Pre-concert—7:30 to 8:00 p.m. Concertized Opera—Carmen by Bizet, combined choruses of Faver High School, Guthrie; Washington High School, Luther; Douglass High School, Crescent; Douglass High School, Oklahoma City.

National Anthem

Invocation—The Reverend W. D. Miller, presiding Elder

Music—Langston University Octette.

Address—President Henry G. Bennett, Oklahoma A. and M. college, Stillwater

Address—President G. L. Harrison, Langston university, Langston

Music—Lincoln High School, Holdenville.

HONORABLE A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

Address—President Joseph A. Brandt, University of Oklahoma, Norman

Music—Langston University Octette.

Introduction of guests and announcements

Benediction—The Reverend S. S. Fairly, pastor Fairview Baptist Church

Third General Session

Friday, February 12, 8:00 p.m.—Municipal Auditorium

Presiding—Calvin R. Johns, vice-president, Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers, Seminole

Pre-concert—7:30 to 8:00—Douglass High School Band.

Theme: "Teaching Pupils To Think Creatively"

Memorial Exercises—8:00 to 8:10 p.m., Harry C. Kenyon, conducting

The Scroll of the Deceased—Carrie Britton-Clardy

Ode To the Deceased—Josie Craig Berry (author)—Ellen Roberson, Shawnee

Silent Prayer—One minute

Music—Combined Wheatley Junior High, Douglass Junior High, and Senior High choruses

Invocation—The Reverend A. M. Johnson, pastor, Greater Calvary Church

Music—Dunbar high school, Okmulgee

President's Annual Address — "The Good Teacher Goes Forth," Lucius L. McGee

Music—Wheatley Junior High School Chorus.

Guest Address—"The Negro and the War", Honorable A. Philip Randolph, New York City

Piano Solo—Freddye Mae Alexander, Pawhuska

Awarding of the Certificate of Merit for long services

Presentation of the officers elect for 1943, guests and announcements

National Anthem

Benediction — The Reverend S. E. Kolen, pastor, Avery Chapel, A. M. E. Church

Fourth General Session

Saturday, February 13—9:30 a. m., Douglass High School

"EDUCATIONAL OFFICIALS SESSION"

Presiding—Lucius L. McGee, president, Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers

National Anthem

Invocation—The Reverend E. W. Perry, pastor, Tabernacle Baptist Church

Music—Douglass high school, Wewoka

Address—Superintendent H. E. Wrinkle, Oklahoma City Public Schools

A Report—Mr. Charles M. Howell, O. E. A. Secretary, Oklahoma Commission on Teacher Retirement

Address—Honorable A. L. Crable, State Superintendent of Public Instruction

Music—Selected

Address—His Excellency, Honorable Robert S. Kerr, Governor of the State of Oklahoma

Declaration of the Association in Executive Session—

a. Report of the Business Council
b. Report of all financial officers
c. Report of the Appropriations Committee
d. Appointment of created committees
e. Installations of officers

Adjournment of the Annual Session

DEPARTMENTAL PROGRAMS

Department of Administration

Friday, Feb. 12, 10:00 a.m.—Douglass High School

Room 214

Theme: "Teaching Pupils to Think Creatively"—

1. The Semantic Approach
   W. E. Anderson, Principal
   Dunbar high school, Okmulgee
2. Panel Discussion:
   Enriching Pupils' background of perceptual experiences
   Miss Willa Strong, McAlester
   Adolph Williams, Sapulpa
   George Tilmon, Boley
   R. G. Parrish, Chickasha
   F. D. Moon, Oklahoma City
   E W. Woods, Tulsa
   Clyde Cole, Tulsa
3. Panel Discussion:
   Guidance and Creative Thinking
   A. M. Jordan, Wewoka
   L. R. Kirkpatrick, El Reno
   E. W. Tolliver, Ardmore
   J. J. Johnson, Cushing
   W. G. Sneed, Oklahoma City
   C. R. Johns, Seminole
   J. E. Buford, Sand Springs

E. E. Weaver, Chairman

L. R. Kirkpatrick, Secretary

Rural Education Department

Friday, Feb. 12, 10:00 a.m.—Douglass High School

Room 202

1. Song .....America the Beautiful
   Conducted by Miss Sammye Sadler, Jeanes Teacher, Muskogee County
2. Invocation .....Mr. William Brown
   Jeanes, Supervising Principal, Lincoln County
3. Music .....Oklahoma City Grade Chorus
4. A Five-Minute Panel ....."A New Thought for the Day"
   Jeanes Teachers from Okfuskee, Carter, Creek, Blaine, and Okmulgee Counties.
   (Each speaker will be allowed one minute.)
5. Simple Designs for the Primary Room, Miss Marzetta Brown Okmulgee County
6. Metronomic Drill in Remedial Reading .....Mrs. Thelma Neeley-Shaw
   Booker T. Washington high school, Pawhuska, Okla.
7. Music .....Combined Grade-School Choruses
   Dunbar and Harrison schools, Oklahoma County
8. Review of Contributions Made by Philanthropic Foundations to Improvement of Schools in Oklahoma .....Mr. E. A. Duke, State Agent for Negro schools
9. Guest Speaker: Miss Pearl Scales, Director of Elementary Education, Oklahoma City Schools
10. Election of officers
11. Adjournment with a song conducted by Mrs. Mary Ella Sneed, Wellston, Oklahoma

Vocational Agricultural Department

Friday, Feb. 12, 10:00 a.m.—Douglass High School

Room 308

Theme: "Food Production As War Measure"

1. Effective Organization of Community, Necessary for Food Production
   Resources: Land, Livestock, Crops, Equipment, Finance, and Labor
   Presentation: Clifford Ellis, C. C. Cooper, William Parker, P. O. Brooks, Miss E. Johnson and T. H. Black.
   Discussion: Marshall Gamble, J. R. Clegg, M. L. Smith, A. H. Fuhr, D. P. Lilly and Mrs. L. B. Homer
2. Election of officers
3. Adjournment

Art Department

Friday, Feb. 12, 10:00 a.m.—Douglass High School

Room 202

Theme: "Contribution of Art to the War Effort"

1. War Posters—
   Discussions Leaders:
   Mrs. Sadie Boyd, Choctaw
   Mrs. Geneva Harper, Oklahoma City
   Miss Bessie Crawford, Sand Springs

2. War Art In Rural Schools—
   Discussion Leaders:
   Miss Leslie Austin, Chandler
   Mrs. Callie Hill, Ardmore
   Miss Robbie Magnus, Dewey
3. War Crafts—
   Discussion Leaders:
   Mrs. Mayme Smith, Tulsa
   Miss Luella Lawson, Oklahoma City
   Mrs. Thelma Wilson, Oklahoma City
4. War Pictures—
   Discussion Leaders:
   Miss Margaret Dabney, Oklahoma City
   Mrs. Camelia Sanford, Oklahoma City
   Mrs. Zenobia Diggs, Tulsa
   Mrs. Thelma Randall Eubank, Muskogee
5. Industrial Camouflage—
   Eugene J. Brown, Langston University

—EUGENE J. BROWN, Chairman

Commerce Department

Friday, Feb. 12, 10:00 a.m.—Douglass High School

Room 314

PROGRAM

Theola M. Davis, Chairman

1. Song ..... America
2. Prayer ..... Mr. Fortner, Tulsa
3. Greeting ..... Lawyer J. J. Bruce, President Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce
4. Panel Discussion ..... Teaching Commerce To Meet the Need of the War
   Discussion led by Miss Elner Hicks, Okmulgee
5. "Tricks of the Trade In Typewriting"
   (A motion picture, to be shown the teachers)
6. Business
   1. Old business
   2. New busin
   3. Election of officers
   4. Adjournment

Intermediate Department

Friday, Feb. 12, 10:00 a.m.—Douglass High School

Room 208

Theme: "United Efforts For Victory"

1. Song ..... God Bless America
2. Invocation ..... Principal J. W. Hughes, Tulsa
3. Song ..... Lift Every Voice and Sing
4. "The Status of the Teacher in the War Effort" ..... Miss Louise Stephens Okmulgee, Oklahoma
5. Instrumental Duet ..... Joe Smith and Kenneth Simpkins Dunbar High School, Okmulgee
6. "Professional Services in the Present Crisis" ..... Miss Tallie Holmes, Okmulgee
7. Music ..... Page Elementary Chorus, Oklahoma City
8. Reading ..... Miss Helen Stephens, Banneker school Okmulgee
9. "Guidance" ..... Principal F. D. Moon Douglass High School, Oklahoma City
10. Round Table Discussion:
    "The Citizen's Task in Maintaining Our Democracy"
    Leader: Attorney H. L. Moore, Mrs. Frankie Taylor, Okmulgee; Miss Sammye Sadler, Muskogee, and Miss Cleora Dubose, Beggs
11. Accordion Band ..... Mrs. Elizabeth Milledge, Sponsor Oklahoma City
12. Remarks .....
13. Business and Introduction of Visitors .....
14. Music ..... Orchard Park Chorus
15. Adjournment .....

Mrs. Frances L. Dean Guess, Chairman

Miss Iola B. Hutton, Secretary

Junior High School Department

Friday, Feb. 12, 2:00 p. m.—Douglass High School

Room 315

Theme: "A Democratic Country for a Democratic People"

1. Community Singing .....
2. Invocation .....
3. Remarks ..... Ira O. Garcia, Chairman
4. Minutes .....
5. Enrollment .....
6. Introduction of Guests .....
7. "Arousing Youth Through Social Studies to Their Responsibilities on the Home Front", Miss Nina Smith Fort Gibson
8. "The Application of Decimals in Percentage, Interest, and Measurements As You Would Present It To a Class ..... E. T. Sharp Principal, grade school, Luther
9. "Making the English Course Practical" ..... Mrs. B. B. Ragland, Oklahoma City
10. Panel Discussion:
    "Teen Age Discipline" ..... H. W. McNamee, Dewey
    a. Types ..... Mr. Foraker Tillman, Guthrie
    b. Problems ..... Mrs. Erma Brady, Ponca City
    c. Democratic Idea of Discipline, Mrs. Zemula Williams
11. Election of officers .....

Ira O. Garcia, Chairman

Theresa Abram, Secretary

Primary Department

Friday, Feb. 12, 10:00 a.m.—Douglass High School

Auditorium

1. Primary Chorus ..... Blanche Younger, Director Oklahoma City
2. Round Table Discussion:
   "My Reading Problems and Yours"
   Myrtle McKeever, Tulsa; Clara Y. Jones, Arcadia, and Juanita Dawson, Luther
3. Miramber Duet ..... Orchard Park Pupils, F. M. Stephens Oklahoma City
4. "The Dowdy Teacher Lowers the Morale of the Pupils" Vernita Hendricks, Ivy Robinson, Virgie Johnson, D. Hyder Johnson, Willie Moore, Lola Greer, V. Brazelton, Della Green, Katherine Faine, and Mary Moulder

5. "Development of Elementary Education in the U. S." Dr. O. J. Chapman, Director of Education, Langston Uni.
6. Election of officers

Lucy C. Winslett, Chairman

Junior and Senior High School English Department

Friday, Feb. 12, 10:00 a.m.—Douglass High School

Room 301

1. Opening
2. "What's Wrong With High School English" Nick Ford and Hobart Jarrett, Professors of English at Langston University
3. "Recent Problems For the English Teacher" Mrs. Fannie G. Miller, Faver High, Guthrie
4. Guest Address: "Every Teacher An English Teacher" Dr. Florette McNeese, Director of Secondary Education Oklahoma City Public Schools
5. Panel Questions
6. Election of officers for 1943-44

Mrs. Lucile M. McMahon, Acting Chairman

Home Economics Department

Friday, Feb. 12, 10:00 a.m.—Douglass High School

Room 204

Theme: Home Economics Contribution to the Victory Program

Presiding—Mrs. Rosena Turner, chairman, Mrs. Viola McClinton, secretary

1. Registration
2. "Adjusting the Home Economics Program to Meet the War Situation" .....Mrs. G. Peters, Langston
3. "Joint Home Economics and Agriculture Program" .....Mr. Ed Brown, Sand Springs
4. "Our Contribution to Meet the War Situation" .....Mrs. Mary Robinson, Enid
5. "Information and Facts Concerning Rationed Foods and Clothing" A representative from the State Rationing Board
6. Guest Address—"The Home Economist and the War" Dr. Anna K. Banks, State Supervisor, Home Economics Education, Oklahoma City.
7. Clothing Conservation .....Miss Martha Merrifield Extension Clothing Specialist, Stillwater
8. Color In Dress for Dark Skinned People .....Mrs. S. M. Washington, Langston

Industrial Arts and Vocational Education Department

Friday, Feb. 12, 10:00 a.m.—Douglass High School

Room 112-113

1. Shop Training for Victory.....L. Gude State Superintendent of Vocational Training
2. Industrial Education in the Post War Era....E. A. Miller Director of Trades and Industrial Labor
3. Resume of the A. N. A. Convention ..... H. F. Perch Director of Trades and Industrial Labor Oklahoma City

Intermission 15 Minutes

4. War Training for Negroes In Oklahoma City— M. L. Powers, State Supervisor of Trades and Industries
5. War Opportunities In Industries for Negroes .....Claude Kenan Personal Director, Douglas Aircraft, Oklahoma City
6. Elections of officers

A. G. Rogers, Chairman

Music Department

Friday, Feb. 12, 10:00 a.m.—Douglass High School

Room 209

1. Music.....Douglass Junior High School Band Mr. Ernest Bennett, Director
2. Discussions: "Music's Part in National Defense Programs" Mr. Henry Shegog, Lawton "Music As a Necessity Instead of a Thrill" Mr. H. E. Edwards, Oklahoma City.
3. Music .....Wheatley Junior High Band Mr. H. E. Edwards, Director
4. Discussion: "Usable Auditorium Materials" .....Mr. T. O. Rogers Chickasha
5. Business Session .....

Mrs. Zelia N. Breaux, Chairman

Mr. G. O. Word, Secretary

Social Science Department

Friday, Feb. 12, 10:00 a.m.—Douglass High School

Room 309

1. Opening
2. Remarks by presiding officer
3. Socialized and Panel Discussion: "What My Department Is Doing to Teach New Concepts In This Changing Social Order" Introduced by Mrs. Beatrice W. Brown
4. Contributions from the Social Science Departments of
   Manual Training High, Muskogee
   Booker T. Washington High, Tulsa
   Dunbar High, Okmulgee
   Dunbar High, Shawnee
   Douglass High, Lawton
   Douglass High, Ardmore
   Washington High, El Reno
   Lincoln High, Chickasha
5. Election of officers

L. E. McKellar, Chairman

Bert V. Wadkins, Acting Chairman

Guidance Department

Friday, Feb. 12, 10:00 a.m.—Douglass High School

Room 305

THEME: "Guidance Role of the School During A War-Torn World

1. Opening
2. Round Table Discussion:

"Making Guidance Effective Through Contributions"
From:
a. The Superintendent
b. The Principal
c. The Teacher
d. Other agencies

3. Business

Booker Brown, Chairman

Mrs. Pearlie V. Williams, Secretary

Visual Education Department

Friday, Feb. 12, 10:00 a.m.—Douglass high school

Room 117

1. "Use of Visual Aids in Teaching Children to Think Creatively"
Discussion and Demonstration.....Miss C. C. Dean
Okmulgee

W. E. Anderson, Chairman

Department of School Secretaries

Friday, Feb. 12, 10:00 a.m.—Douglass High School

Room 315

1. Song .....America
2. Prayer .....
3. "The Efficient Secretary" ....Lawyer H. McKinley Rowan
4. Open Discussion:
"Should School Secretaries Go Into National Defense?"
Mrs. Vyola W. Berry, Tulsa
5. "The Work of the Junior High School Secretary ....Paper
Mrs. Adele L. Fisher, Tulsa
6. "The Work of the Elementary School Secretary"....Paper
Mrs. Ruth B. Taylor, Oklahoma City

Mrs. G. W. Johnson, Chairman

D. A. Wisener, Secretary

OKLAHOMA ASSOCIATION OF NEGRO TEACHERS

OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES

W. E. ANDERSON, Editor of Publications

President, Lucius L. McGee, Oklahoma City

Vice-President, Calvin R. Johns. Seminole

Secretary, Carrie Britton Clardy, Choctaw

Treasurer, C. D. Batchlor, Langston

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S. S. Bradley, 1943, Ada
R. T. Gracey, 1943, Bartlesville
H. S. Hughes, 1944, Tulsa
L. K. Jackson, 1944, Binger
L. D. Lawson, 1945, Oklahoma City
R. G. Parrish, 1945, Chickasha

Editor-In-Chief, The Journal and Publications

W. E. Anderson, Okmulgee

Credentials Committee

Carrie E. Britton-Clardy, Chairman

Standing Committees

1.—AMENDMENTS
W. G. Sneed, Chairman, Oklahoma City
W. R. Patterson, Lawton
E. M. Watson, Shawnee
W. C. Jones, Chairman
L. R. Kirkpatrick, El Reno

2.—AUDITING
J. J. West, Luther
F. F. Alexander, Nowata
J. S. Johnson, Cushing

3.—LEGISLATIVE
E. W. Woods, Chairman, Tulsa
W. E. Anderson, Okmulgee
R. G. Parrish, Chickasha
L. R. Kirkpatrick, El Reno
D. A. Williams, Sapulpa
R. T. Williams, Sapulpa
R. T. Gracey, Bartlesville
F. D. Moon, Oklahoma City

4.—RESOLUTIONS
F. H. Harris, Chairman, Hominy
Mrs. Edna Hobbs, Oklahoma City
W. L. Williams, Hobart
E. T. Busby, Chandler
D. James, Wynnewood

5.—NECROLOGY
H. C. Kenyon, Chairman
C. N. Hunt
S. A. Blye

6.—ELECTION BOARD
H. S. Hughes
L. D. Lawson
L. K. Jackson
R. G. Parrish

CONVENTION DIRECTOR OF ANNOUNCEMENTS AND DEPARTMENTAL MEETINGS

S. M. Harris

OKLAHOMA ASSOCIATION OF NEGRO TEACHERS COMMITTEE WORKING ON ACCREDITING OF LANGSTON UNIVERSITY

President G. L. Harrison
J. W. Sanford
W. E. Anderson
J. E. Buford
Mrs. Susie Haywood
A. M. Jordan
W. W. Frazier
L. L. McGee, Chairman

Local Committees of the Oklahoma City Association of Teachers In Separate Schools

Housing Committee

Luella D. Lawson, Chairman
Ladye Bowen
Mamie Ealey
Della Green
Wyatt F. Jeltz
V. A. Levison
Lucille Mayberry
Electra Moore
Vestoria Nelson
Leona Palmer
Grace Perkins
Joanna Reynolds
C. V. Tompkins
Elizabeth Walker
Jamie M. Williams
Louis C. Williams

Courtesy Committee

Olivia J. Abby, Chairman
Sammie D. Brown
Irene Johnson
Virgie Johnson
Ruth Lewis
Buzzedar B. Ragland
D. A. Wisener
Marie Maddox
Henrietta Beasley

Program Committee

S. A. Haywood, Chairman
Nettie P. Davis
Clara McFall
Gussie B. Johnson
Jennie Lou Pollard
Camelia Sanford
Lucille Thompson
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H. A. Berry, Chairman
Katherine Faine
W. G. Lay
Lelia Lovejoy
Marie Lyday
Augusta P. Morgan
Neal Pierce

Music Committee

Z. N. Breaux, Chairman
E. R. Bennett
H. F. Edwards
Katie Grinstead
Ruth Lewis
A. E. Moore
E. M. Moore
Cornelia Scales
Mattye Williams
Blanche Younger

Platform Guests

Thursday, Feb. 11, 2:30 p.m.

Douglass High School Auditorium

A. M. Tompkins
E. T. Busby
L. Marie Robinson
J. J. Hanna
Lemuel C. Harkey
D. A. Wisener
I. H. Jackson
T. J. Hankins
H. V. Curtis
L. A. Ward
F. F. Bailey
Lucy C. Winslett
Rev. E. W. Perry
F. E. Roberts
E. W. Tolliver
Harriett P. Jacobson
N. J. Tucker
Theola Davis

All Oklahoma City Separate School Principals

Thursday, Feb. 11, 8:00 p.m.

Douglass High School Auditorium

Dean Leroy G. Moore
A. H. Fuhr
Floyd F. Alexander
George R. Ragland, Jr.
C. N. Hunt
Jessie Eakers
Willie M. P. Johnson
Dean James
F. R. Tillman
E. R. Roper
Roy Taliaferro
W. R. Patterson
L. V. Clem
W. Mitchell Moore
L. G. Ashley
E. E. Weaver
Garvice S. Ricks
F. H. Harris
W. T. Wells
S. L. Ayers
Herbert Taylor
Clinton Arnsby
Rev. S. S. Fairly
Frances Dean Guess
Joseph S. Johnson

Friday, Feb. 12, 8:00 p.m.

Municipal Auditorium

All Officers of the Association
President G. L. Harrison
Superintendent H. E. Wrinkle
W. F. Jeltz
Seymour E. Williams
Onnie S. McGee
Victoria Brazelton
H. V. Gear
Roscoe Dunjee
All Former Presidents of O. A. N. T.
Officers Elect 1943
Natalie J. Watson
Clyde Cole
C. Felton Gayles
J. T. Armstrong
N. L. George
Sam Sadler
C. M. Howell

Friday, Feb. 12, 9:30 a.m.

Douglass High School Auditorium

Harry C. Kenyon
E. H. Hancock
W. M. Phillips
Mary H. Umstead
Levi Pressley
J. W. Hughes
L. R. Kirkpatrick
O. A. Garcia
Edwin K. Weaver
Carrie Booker
Corine Lythcotte
T. H. Moore
O. E. Kennedy
H. A. Berry
H. V. Wilson
Willa A. Strong
Alma Marsh

Mathematics Department

Friday, Feb. 12, 10:00 a. m.
Douglass High School
Room 213
Program not submitted.

Physical Education Department

MEN'S DIVISION
Friday, Feb. 12, 10:00 a.m.
Douglass high school
Room 110
Program not submitted

Physical Education Department

WOMEN'S DIVISION
Friday, Feb. 12, 10:00 a.m.
Douglass high school
Gymnasium
Program not submitted

Natural Science Department

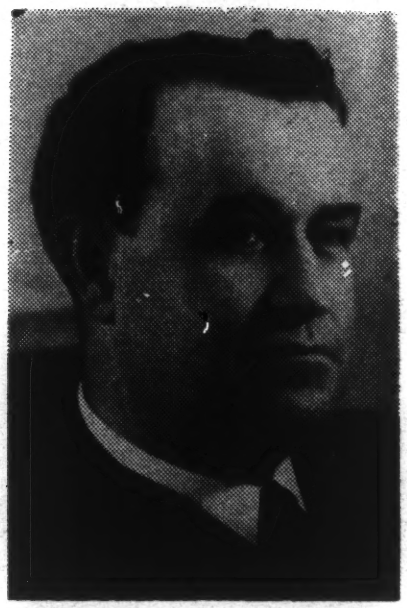
Friday, Feb. 12, 10:00 a.m.
Douglass high school
Room 307
Program not submitted

Language Department

Friday, Feb. 12, 10:00 a.m.
Douglass high school
Room 111
Program not submitted

SOME GENERAL SESSION SPEAKERS

Second General Session Speakers



Dr. Henry G. Bennett, President
Oklahoma A. and M. College
Stillwater, Oklahoma

Dr. G. Lamar Harrison, President
Langston University
Langston, Oklahoma

President Joseph A. Brandt
The University of Oklahoma
Norman, Oklahoma

Pres. Lucius L. McGee, O.A.N.T.

Hon. A. Philip Randolph
New York City

SOME GENERAL SESSION SPEAKERS

Second General Session Speakers

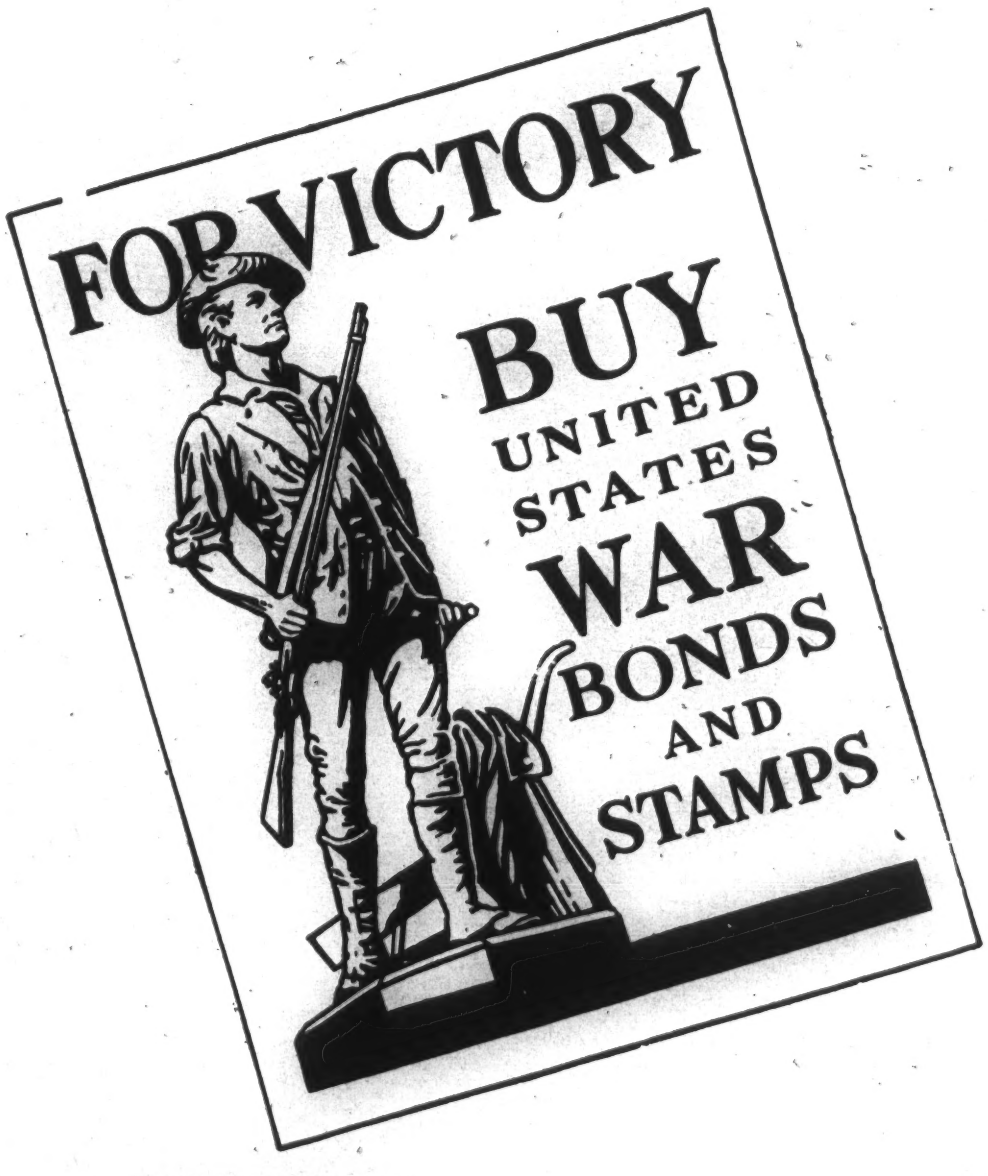
Hon. A. L. Crable, Superintendent
State Department of Education

Hon. Robert S. Kerr, Governor
State of Oklahoma

H. E. Wrinkle, Superintendent
Oklahoma City Public Schools

Chas. M. Howell, Secretary
Oklahoma Education Ass'n

I NEED YOUR HELP!



BLACK DISPATCH PUB. CO.
324 Northeast Second Street
Oklahoma City, Okla.

Presidents of The Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers

1. J. H. A. Bracelton 1907*
2. Inman E. Page 1908*
3. C. B. Bryant 1909
4. George W. Carry 1910*
5. E. H. Hall 1911*
6. N. J. Caesar 1912
7. W. E. Day 1913*
8. E. M. Watson 1914
9. T. R. Dolman 1915
10. W. H. Fort 1916*
11. L. C. Clark 1917*
12. J. Oscar Spencer 1918-1919*
13. J. Wilson Pettus 1920*
14. E. W. Woods 1921
15. E. E. Weaver 1922
16. D. G. Horton 1923
17. T. W. Grimson 1924
18. S. L. Hargrove 1925
19. J. W. Hughes 1926
20. W. G. Snead 1927
21. W. C. Jones 1928
22. F. D. Moon 1929
23. Z. T. Hubert 1930
24. R. Goodwin Parrish 1931
25. J. W. Sanford 1932
26. W. A. Dobson 1933
27. C. R. Buford 1934
28. W. E. Anderson 1935
29. J. T. A. West 1936
30. L. A. Hill 1937
31. T. P. Scott 1938
32. A. M. Jordan 1939
33. J. E. Buford 1940
34. D. Adolph Williams 1941
35. Lucius L. McGee 1942

*Deceased

Building A Temple

A builder builded a temple,
    He wrought it with grace and skill;
Pillars and groins and arches
    All fashioned to work his will.
Men said as they saw its beauty
    "It shall never know decay.
Great is thy skill, O builder;
    Thy fame shall endure for aye."

A teacher builded a temple
    With loving and infinite care,
Planning each arch with patience,
    Laying each stone with prayer.
None praised his unceasing efforts,
    None knew of his wondrous plan,
For the temple the teacher builded
    Was unseen by the eyes of man.
Gone is the builder's temple,
    Crumbled into the dust;
Low lies each stately pillar,
    Food for consuming rust.
But the temple the teacher builded
    Will last while the ages roll,
For that beautiful unseen temple
    Is a child's immortal soul.

Colored Americans

OF WASHINGTON, D. C.

UNITE TO-DAY

Program

Attend War Workers Meeting

Thurs., October 28, 1943

1 to 2.30 P. M.

AT Y. M. C. A. AUDITORIUM

1816 12th Street, N. W.

DO YOU WANT: 1 Equality of Status for the Negro and White People?

2 Jim Crow in the Army and Navy abolished?

3 Better Housing Conditions?

4 Race Segregation abolished?

5 To hold your jobs after the war?

6 Permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee?

THEN HEAR

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Save the F. E. P. C. to-day

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Invest Your Dollar in the Liberation of Negro Citizens

Sponsored by the Washington Division

March On Washington Movement

CITIZENS - ATTENTION

Public MASS MEETING

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Hear Amazing Story of Discrimination
Against Negro Railway Workers

Sunday, January 9th, 1944

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214 West 134th Street New York, New York

— 3:00 P.M. —

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Chairman, City-Wide Citizens' Committee on Harlem

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

International President of Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters,
National Director March On Washington Movement

Music featuring MISS CATHERINE VAN BUREN, Soloist

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Public Meeting Free

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I will attend Non-Partisan Political Conference
Sunday and Monday, June 25-26, 1944

.....

I will donate $..... to the fight for political freedom

My Organization will send ..... Delegates to Conference

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Address .....

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Conference Call

to a

National Non-Partisan Political Conference for Negroes

The Metropolitan Community Church

4100 SOUTH PARKWAY

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Sunday, Monday, June 25–26, 1944

Auspices of the

National March on Washington Movement

HEADQUARTERS—HOTEL THERESA BUILDING

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CHICAGO OFFICE: 4304 SOUTH PARKWAY

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Call for a Non-Partisan Political Conference for Negroes by the March On Washington Movement

a call

In accordance with the National program of the March on Washington Movement, set forth at its first convention in Chicago, July, 1943, this Call is being sent to the Country for a National Non-Partisan Political Conference for Negroes. This conference will be composed of delegates from church, labor, fraternal, educational and political organizations. It will be strictly non-partisan.

Importance of Conference

The purpose of this conference will be to review the political history of the Negro, to evaluate his present political status, and formulate a program to meet the perplexing problems that now confront the Negro people, and that will face them in the coming post-war years. Considerable attention will be directed to the development of techniques and strategies that may effectively serve to mobilize the maximum political power of the Negro people back of the crucial economic, political and social issues that are vital to their life and progress.

The Home fight must go on

The fight to win democracy at home is tied up with the fight to destroy the Axis totalitarian tyranny abroad. Victory of democracy abroad and at home is essential to the salvation of democracy anywhere. One cannot endure without the other. Today the gathering forces of reaction, fascism and Jim-Crowism threaten all our democratic institutions; they are a challenge to all minority groups; they endanger all of our gains on the national, civic and labor fronts.

It is apparent that at home and abroad the forces of freedom and democracy have their backs against the wall. They are in retreat. Hence, they must have new life, new faith and new hope.

Now is the time for action

Under the March on Washington Movement's direction, this National Non-Partisan Political Conference will attempt to summon and rally the forces of labor, liberals and minorities, to challenge the defiance of the recent Supreme Court ruling granting Negroes the right to vote in the Democratic Primaries. To fight the reactionary alliance of politicians who defeated the Anti-Poll Tax Bill, and finally to make America a fit place for the working man and for the millions of our returning soldiers.

Statement to the Political Parties of the Nation

"WINNING DEMOCRACY FOR THE NEGRO IS WINNING THE WAR FOR DEMOCRACY"

The war in which our country is engaged not only involves a major share of its resources, but also everyone of its citizens both white and black. The Negro citizen, therefore, who is part of the warp and woof of these United States, is vitally concerned not only in a military victory of his country but also in the triumph of the expressed aims of the war.

The War aims at home-abroad

Every statement of war aims by responsible leaders in all walks of life, the principles of the four freedoms, the eight point program of THE Atlantic Charter and it is to be hoped, the prospectus of a much needed Pacific Charter, express the desire that the outcome of this vast and terrible conflict will be the triumph of democracy and its establishment on a wider and firmer basis. To insure such a result the preservation and extension of our democratic principles must be an essential part of winning the war.

For the masses of people abstract principles have vitality only in concrete expression. Freedom from want" is real only when it means a chance to work for sufficient food, clothing and shelter. Likewise for the Negro, and for all oppressed people everywhere, the fight for democracy has meaning only when it grants to them the full measure of every right as well as of every obligation for which democracy stands.

We Negroes do not enjoy these rights in the country to which we have given fully of our labor, our talents and of our blood. To insure that national unity so essential for victory it is imperative that the Negro be given an equal chance with every other American to enjoy the privileges of American citizenship.

The source of our disabilities lies in the caste system maintained by the Southern states, where segregation and discrimination in social, economic and political life spread their vicious influence elsewhere. Only an all-attack by the national government on this caste system at its source will destroy its danger to national unity.

The Demands

Therefore, 13,000,000 Negroes demand of all parties seeking to control the national administration to state what each will do to put into effect the following measures which represent the minimum requirements for equality of citizenship.

a. abolition of segregation in all branches of the Armed Forces.

b. a permanent FEPC as provided in the Scanlon Dawson Bill HR3986; and permanent job security.

c. federal aid to education with federal standards and federal supervision.

d. enforcement of the 14th and 15th amendments through enabling legislation. This legislation will (1) set a standard of 60 to 65% of the eligible voters as necessary to maintain Congressional representation; (2) establish a federal ballot commission within the Department of Justice to which appeals regarding the violation of these amendments may be made.

e. Negro representation and participation in the peace conferences before and after the end of the war.

f. a National Commission on race.

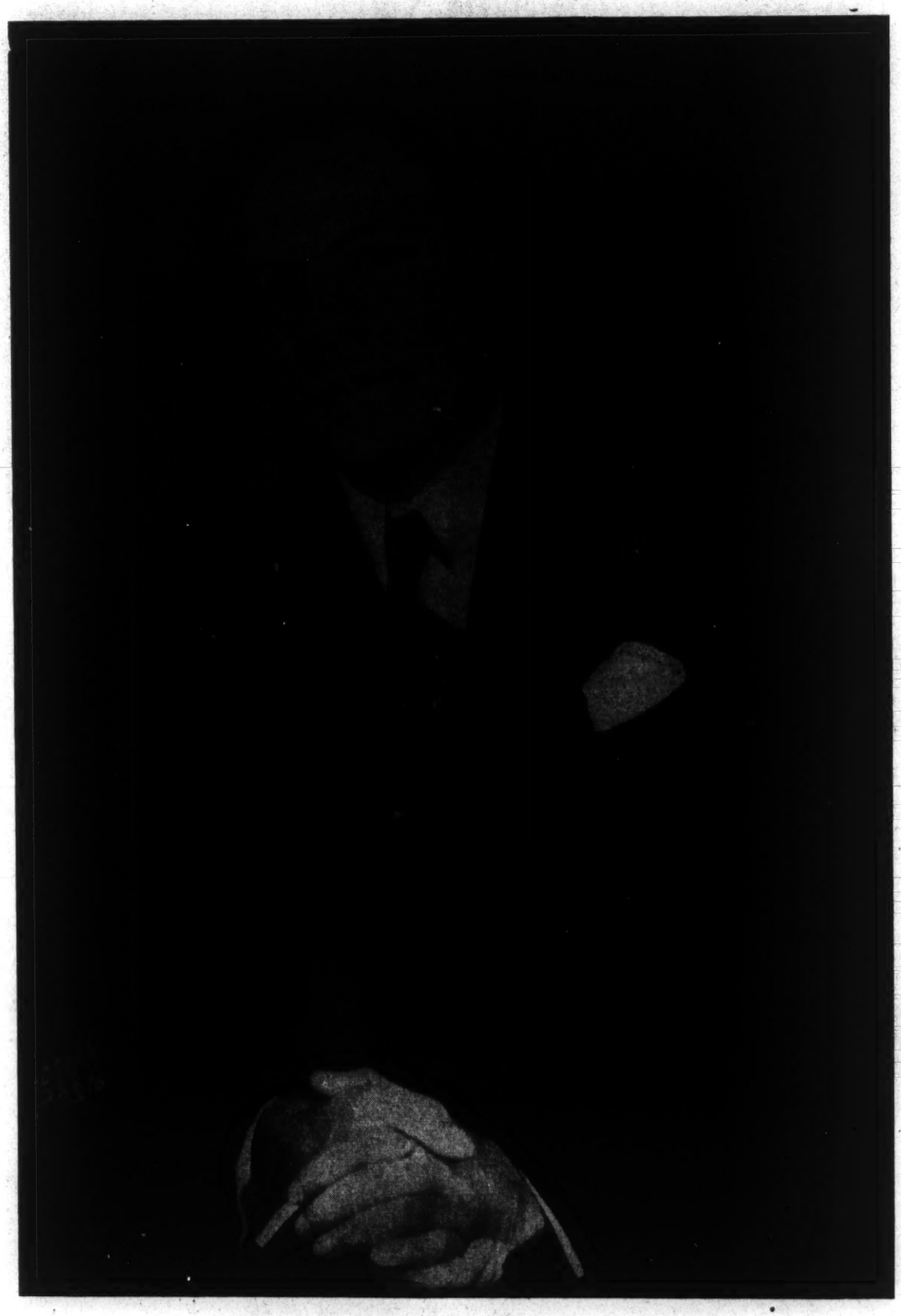
We wish to know your stand at the earliest possible moment so that Negro voters may cast their ballots for those measures which not only advance the freedom of Negroes but bring America closer to the ideal of democracy, peace and plenty.

MWM Non-Partisan Political Conv

SOUVENIR PROGRAM

National Non-Partisan Political Conference

June 25-26, 1944 — Chicago, Illinois



A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, International President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters — National Director, March On Washington Movement

Price 25 Cents

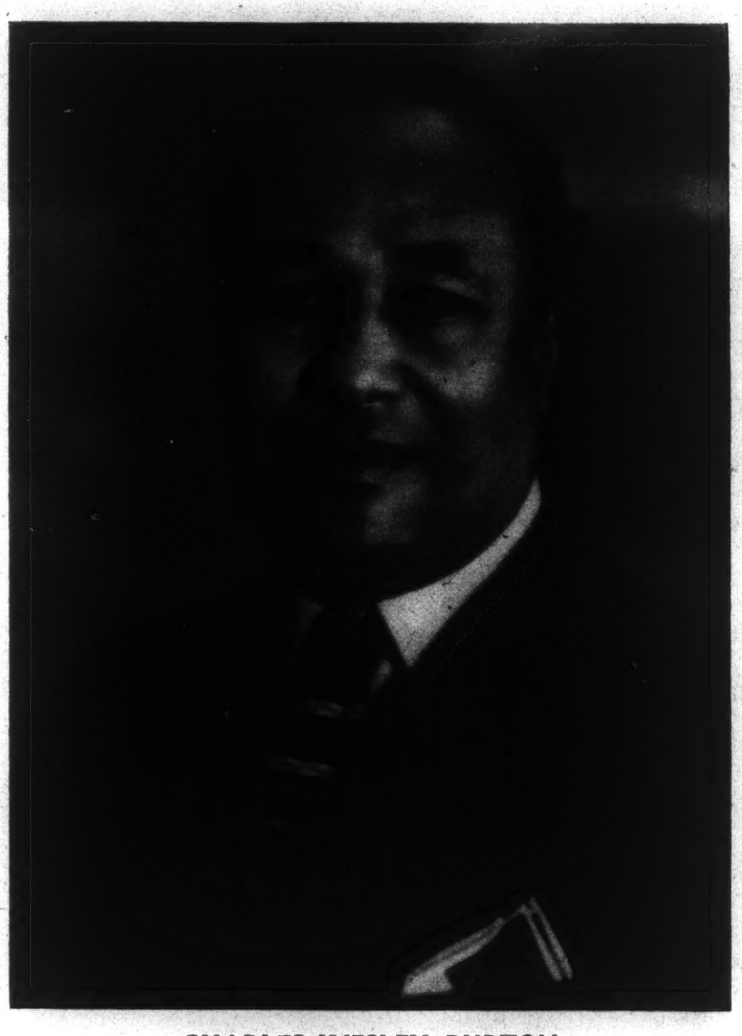
GREETINGS FROM THE NATIONAL DIRECTOR

At long last a dream of the March-on-Washington Movement has come true. At its "We Are Americans Too" Conference last summer it was voted that "A National Non-Partisan Conference" would be promoted by the Movement during the current calendar year. Today, we see the partial fruits of our labor inasmuch as a beginning has been made to help Negroes to see that their economic, educational, political and social salvation will be achieved only when we learn to coordinate and pool our political power. This Conference is our first serious effort in that direction.

A Minimum Program has been outlined by our National Executive Board which is being presented to the first National Non-Partisan Political Conference among Negroes meeting in Chicago June 25-26. Much time, effort and thought have gone into the building and preparation of this program which may well become the Negro's political "platform" for Election Year 1944 and many more years to come. We believe this is an absolutely minimum program on which ALL Negroes can and should agree. We shall present it to both the National Republican and Democratic Conventions meeting in Chicago this summer, and demand that they endorse it and include it in their respective Platforms. We call upon all Negro leaders and laymen to unite on these fundamental principles of justice and humanity in order that Negroes in America may achieve first-class citizenship. This is our ambition. Such is our goal. We urge and invite all lovers of democracy and freedom to join with us in the necessary sacrificial struggle to reach our goal.

Faithfully yours,

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH



CHARLES WESLEY BURTON
Member National Executive Board
Director, Chicago Unit,
March On Washington Movement
Chairman, City-Wide Citizens Committee

GREETINGS FROM THE CHICAGO DIRECTOR

It is a genuine pleasure to greet the Delegates and Visitors who shall attend this first National Non-Partisan Political Conference among Negroes. We welcome you here for the reason that we have a serious task before us. We believe in your courage, your ability, your wisdom; and we need them all. Much time, effort and thought have gone into the campaign to build this Conference. Our City-wide Citizens Committee of 100 have toiled and sacrificed, and often have "burned the midnight oil" to make ready for this Conference. We know that you come here with determination to leave no stone unturned to find a way to achieve first-class citizenship for Negroes. We are convinced that our greatest hope lies in the proper development and use of political power. To this end we call upon men and women of courage, daring, ability and vision to most seriously address themselves to the achievement of unity among All Negroes so that our "Minimum Program" may be fully realized.

As General Chairman of the City-Wide Committee I take this opportunity to express my deep gratitude to the loyal members of the Committee and, especially to the sub-committee Chairmen, who have worked in season and out of season to make this Conference a success. No task has been too arduous or too humble but that with gladness, determination and full understanding they rallied to the cause. A more loyal and finer group of friends are nowhere to be found in the world.

Sincerely,

CHARLES WESLEY BURTON

Milton P. Webster
Member Fair Employment Practice Committee and 1st Vice President, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters

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Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters

Men's Club Metropolitan Community Church

PROGRAMME

3 P.M. Sunday, June 25th

Pilgrim Baptist Church, E. 33rd and Indiana Avenue

CHARLES WESLEY BURTON, Chairman

The Star Spangled Banner (National Anthem)

Invocation ..... Rev. Joseph M. Evans

3:10 Opening Remarks ..... The Chairman

3:30 The Case Against Discrimination—Segregation in Our Armed Forces ..... Attorney Earl B. Dickerson

3:45 What Can The Church Do About It? ..... Rev. J. C. Austin

4:00 Vocal Solo ..... Miss Geneva Thomas
Accompanied by Mr. T. Theo. Taylor

4:10 Co-Ordinating Our Political Power ..... Milton P. Webster

4:30 Achieving First Class Citizenship for Negroes:

1. What the Republican Party Offers ..... Commissioner William E. King

4:45 2. What the Democratic Party Offers ..... Major A. E. Patterson

5:00 FREEDOM OFFERING

5:15 Vocal Solo ..... Miss Thomas

5:20 DELIVERANCE FROM BONDAGE ..... A. Philip Randolph

5:55 NEGRO NATIONAL ANTHEM

6:00 Benediction ..... Rev. Holman W. Evans

PROGRAMME

Monday, June 26, 1944

Metropolitan Community Church

4100 South Parkway

9:00 A.M.
to
10:00 Registration

Invocation ..... Rev. R. H. Davis

10:10 CALL TO ACTION ..... A. Philip Randolph

10:20 Appointment of Committees and Panel Chairmen

10:30 *Panel One*: Enforcement of 14th and 15th Amendments

11:30 *Panel Two*: A Permanent F. E. P. C.

12:30 *Panel Three*: Negro Representation at the Peace Conference

1:30 LUNCH

2:30 *Panel Four*: Abolition of the Poll Tax

3:30 *Panel Five*: Abolition of Jim-Crow in the Armed Forces

4:30 *Reports of Committees*:

a Panel Chairmen

b Financial Statement

c Credentials

d Findings of Conference

5:30 e Dinner

PROGRAMME

Monday, June 26, 1944

P.M.

8:00 A JUST AND PERMANENT PEACE....Chas. W. Burton, Chairman

Opening Song .....Metropolitan Choir

Invocation .....Rev. Herbert Jones

8:15 Remarks: The Chairman

Music: Metropolitan Senior Choir....Prof. J. Wesley Jones, Director

8:30 Address: The Role of the Church in Securing a Just Peace.....
.....Rev. Joseph M. Evans

9:00 Addresses: Negro Representation at the Peace Conference.....

Miss Eartha M. M. White

Atty. David M. Grant

Mr. T. D. McNeal

Mr. Thurman L. Dodson

OFFERING

9:30 Address: A MINIMUM PROGRAM FOR NEGROES.....
.....A. Philip Randolph

10:30 Benediction .....Rev. Wm. M. Bennett

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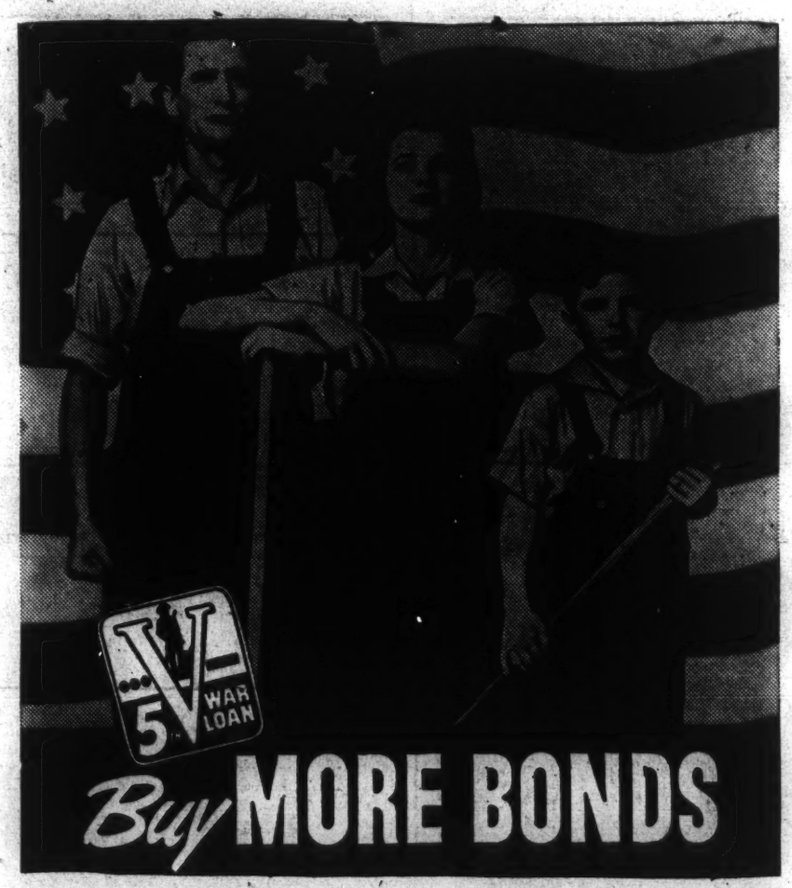


Mr. W. A. Jones
N. Y. Office

March-on-Washington Movement
Hotel Theresa Building
2084 Seventh Avenue New York

October 10th, 1944

W H I T H E R T H E M A R C H ----------

Dear Fellow Member:

The MARCH has started a real active program yet remarks such as these have been made about our Organization:

" THE MARCH IS TRHU" ---

"TWO OR THREE PEOPLE ARE RUNNING THE ORGANIZATION. THEY DON'T NEED ME" -------

"AS LONG AS SO - AND - SO STAYS IN THE MARCH IT WON'T GET ANYWHERE".

W H Y !!!!!!!!!!!

These rumors increas e and have effect as long as they have some material basis. What is that basis ? If the MARCH is to be run on a democratic plan members must participate in its activities.

SEE DEMOCRACY AT WORK - by attending the MARCHES MEETING this Wednesday - Oct. 11th, 1944 - 8:30 PM at 2084 - 7th Ave.

* Let us further discuss, plan and organize the METROPOLITAN JOB CAMPAIGN.

* LET US REORGANIZE AND REVITALIZE OUR COMMITTEES.

* THIS IS AN E M E R G E N C Y MEETING. COME, BE SEEN AND HEARD!!

Fraternally yours -- Beatrice E. Parrish - Exec. Sec'y

Labor's Front

Amst. News July 18, 1942

By J. Robert Smith

MANY and varied are the programs being advanced to help the race solve its vexing problems in these turbulent times. Some are good, some are bad; some are conflicting and some are parallel. In an attempt to analyze coldly and dispassionately some of the schemes and panaceas before us, this writer decided this week to go into a comparison of the eight-point program of the March-on-Washington Movement and the thirteen-point program of the Negro Labor Victory Committee.

Mr. Smith

With the exception of a few related factors which hinge upon these main objectives, the sum total of the Movement's program is based along these demands: The end of Jim-crow in education, housing and transportation; the abolition of discrimination and segregation in all walks of American life; enforcement of the 5th, 14th and 15th Amendments; strengthening of the President's Fair Employment Practice Committee; Negro representation in all governmental administrative agencies; Negro representation at the peace conference, and enactment of the Pepper Poll Tax Bill.

The 13-points of the Victory Committee include: The ending of discrimination in all branches of the armed forces; the appointment of Negroes to all policy-forming boards and commissions including the War Manpower Board; more authority for the President's Fair Employment Practice Committee; passage of the Pepper Poll Tax Bill and full freedom for colonial peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the West Indies.

Behind Administration

Both programs are one hundred percent behind the Administration, the war effort and the fight for the full integration of the Negro in industry.

The March-on-Washington Movement staged its mass meeting, Tuesday, June 16; the following week the Victory Committee launched theirs at which time they went on record as endorsing the Movement's program. The only apparent difference between the two meetings was one was all-Negro, the other mixed.

It seems to me that here is a perfect example of waste of energy and manpower especially at this time when the slogan is to conserve and preserve both. Since both programs are fundamentally the same, then why shouldn't there be but one massive organization, powerful in strength and determination, setting out to battle for the victory the race so justly deserves? Why should it be necessary to have two or more similar pressure groups fighting for the same cause, on the same battlefield, under divided commands?

The only answer to that is confusion and wholesale annihilation of the soldiers, which in this instance is the Negro people.

As I stated before the only difference between the two groups is the fact that one is all-Negro, the other mixed. According to Ewart G. Guinier, secretary of the Victory Committee, his is also an all-Negro organization with the exception that it calls upon all trade unions to help the Negro in his campaign, thus giving it a mixed complexion. The Movement's policy is to make its organization all-Negro, let the Negro initiate his own fight, get interested in his own problems, settle down for a long and hard siege on his opposing forces, and when he is ready to attack under his own command, then summon the assistance of all groups who are "willing" to help him in combat.

Compare Methods

From experience, let us now compare both methods of operation and see which is more timely and adaptable. It is known that the hardest problem on the face of the earth is to get Negroes to unite on a serious cause. If that can be done (and the Madison Square Garden meeting showed it's no miracle) and they can understand what the program is all about, are willing to support, push and stand by it, then their heavenly days begin here on earth. Experience has also taught us that where we have these mixed organizations, the white man usually winds up controlling the set-up, dictating policy and most of the time is in charge of the treasury.

Now for the trade union side of the question as advanced by the Victory Committee. We know that the salvation of the Negro is solely dependent upon labor, and labor draws its strength from trade unionism. If the program of this latter body entered with that of the Movement's in that it was solely concerned with labor and labor alone, then it would confine itself to labor. But when it enters into the realm of civil liberties, then it invades the precincts of the N. A. A. C. P. in peacetime, and what the Movement has taken up in war time.

As I see it, a consolidation of ideals, efforts, time and finances could be effected between the two groups to give the race the utmost in accomplishment. If the two organizations could merge, iron out whatever may be their differences and present a unified front, our cause would be advanced by many a year.

Abraham and God were splendid company for each other; God being the first construction engineer, and Abraham the pioneer; "for he looked for a city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God."

How very different is the order of God's kingdom than man's; when a soldier surrenders to God, he is set free and is free indeed.

He was hit so hard until he lost sight, and didn't regain it much before the third night.

And when you put yourself out, for God, you put yourself in line to inherit His kingdom.

Pittsburgh Courier - July 25, 1942 -

Tail Wags Dog

CAYTON BELIEVES RANDOLPH MAY STEAL PLAY FROM NAACP IF ASSOCIATION DOESN'T WAKE UP

BY HORACE R. CAYTON

MAYBE it is too soon to predict, and even by the time this article is published things may be changed, but at the moment, it is my feeling that the present convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is a pretty routine affair. I said this last year about the Houston affair. It is not a bad conference; in fact, it is a

Mr. Cayton

[illegible] conference, but it should be a great one. Even last year the association, the oldest and most respected Negro organization, was faced with a tremendous problem of orienting Negroes toward the war effort. [illegible] failed to do this in any satisfactory way. This year [illegible] at least, an opportunity [illegible] such chances [illegible] come here in Los Angeles.

[illegible] delegates [illegible] three different camps, [illegible] might be [illegible] of the Left, [illegible] and Center. Speaking for middle-of-the-road position, Roy Wilkins made the keynote speech, which he advocated what corresponds to the Double V position of Courier. A. Philip Randolph [illegible] the left (or right, depending [illegible] way you look at it) and [illegible] Negro rights now, regardless [illegible] war effort. Mrs. Charlotta [illegible] of the Los Angeles branch [illegible] the articulate spokesman for group which thinks that the [illegible] of Negroes should be subordinated, for the time being, to the general war effort.

ATTACKS RANDOLPH

INCIDENTALLY, Mrs. Bass used rather poor taste in making a personal attack on Randolph and his program. In trying to explain her attitude regarding the war, in view of the fact that Randolph is a member of the board of the NAACP and was to be recipient of the Spingarn Medal.

As I was at the press table I was unable to see whether Randolph came in during the speech or directly after, but it created a tense situation and was pretty embarrassing for Walter White. Randolph appeared to take it in stride. This did more than anything to damage the position and analysis of the "all-out for war bloc," if such a bloc existed.

There is no question that Randolph is the man most worshiped by the Negro rank and file now. To them he is the man who is saying things they want said and is getting things done. Curiously enough, it is a case of the tail wagging the dog, for Randolph and his March on Washington program is putting new life blood into the association. Walter White seems to go with him all the way, but Roy Wilkins is much more cagey about the association's losing its identity in this upsurge of mass feeling that has frightened the more conservative of his members.

NAACP CLINGS TO RANDOLPH'S COAT-TAIL

THE whole complexion of the convention may change, but so far, instead of being a statesmanlike approach to the problem and presenting a concrete program of action, the convention is just a powwow of big-name Negroes. In spite of the fact that the theme of the convention is "Victory Is Vital to the Minorities," the question of the relationship of the Negroes to the war effort, the extent to which they should or should not be subordinated to a struggle for Negro rights, is not being reduced to a practical program of action which will have meaning to the ordinary Negro on the street.

I hate to say it (and I hope I am wrong), but unless there is a sudden turn of events, we will find that the association again in this crisis has failed to interpret to the Negro masses the position they should take in this war. Certainly one can say, however, that with this failure, A. Philip Randolph will emerge with even greater prestige and that he and his March on Washington organization will become the spokesman for the Negroes, with the NAACP holding on to his coat-tail. Whether this is a good thing or a bad thing will be determined by the type of program which Randolph finally works out.

Silent Parade Planned Here In Protest Of Recent Wave Of Violence Against Negroes

The execution of Odell Waller on July 2, described as a "legal lynching" by irate Negroes, followed closely by the mob lynching of Willie Vinson on July 16 in Texarkana, Texas, the shooting of Private Jesse Smith by a posse in Flagstaff, Arizona, and the beating of the noted Negro tenor, Roland Hayes and his wife in Rome, Ga., have brought a countrywide storm of protest from Negroes.

New York Negroes under direction of the local division of the March on Washington Movement plan a silent parade to the beat of muffled drums, Saturday, July 25 at 2:30 to protest this wave of killings.

A. Philip Randolph, national director of the March on Washington Movement, in a vigorous letter of protest to President Roosevelt declared, "Waller's electrocution has intensified a wave of determination for a showdown on the question of total democracy for the Negro which cannot long be held back by leaders who use the bargain and compromise method. It was the signal for the barbarous forces in this country to renew the unleashing of their venom of hatred upon the Negro people.

"With the world in the agony of a war for the survival of sheer human decency, the race issue in America is crucial to the whole struggle. These fascist-like brutalities in the United States are grist for the propaganda mill of the Axis powers and undoubtedly will be used to destroy the faith of the allied nations in the honesty and integrity of America's democracy, and hasten the deterioration of the morale of the enslaved peoples of the world which hangs precariously on this hope," Mr. Randolph continued. "If the Negro is not given his full rights now, then the battle for Democracy is lost."

In announcing plan for the parade, Dr. Lawrence Irwin, prog-

(Continued on page 10)

Age — July 25, 1942

Plan Silent Parade In Protest Against Wave of Violence

(Continued from page one)

[illegible] of the New York Division, March on Washington Movement, said: "We want the world to know and particularly our Government, how the people in Harlem feel about the continuation of Waller, the lynchings of Willie Vinson and Fleming Smith in Texas, [illegible] and the brutal [illegible] of Roland [illegible]. We will be more Wallers and [illegible] Smiths if we let this [illegible] so unchallenged. We [illegible] to safe anywhere."

Parade To Union Square

[illegible] of Washington Movement, Dr. Irvin continued, "we dedicate to fighting all forms of [illegible] oppression perpetuated against the Negro. We intend [illegible] to show to white America that the evil of the poll tax system, which fosters these lynchings and beatings shall be buried in the same grave with Odell Waller."

Wearing black mourning armbands and carrying signs of protest against lynching, Waller's execution and the poll tax, the marchers will assemble at 56th street and Seventh avenue, march south on 16th street, east on 14th to Union Square where the parade will be greeted by music and speakers.

The speakers at Union Square will be Coleman Brown, chairman and [illegible] of the March on Washington Movement; William Amir, [illegible] director, Freedom Party; Frank E. Crosswaith, director, Negro Labor Committee and member, New York Housing Authority; John F. Finerty, counsel, [illegible] Defense League who [illegible] Waller case; Dr. Lawrence [illegible], president, New York Division, March on Washington Movement; Dr. Channing Tobias, National Council, YMCA; Lewis [illegible], vice president, American Federation of Teachers, and Anna [illegible] Hedgeman, Negro Women [illegible] and Ashley L. Totten, [illegible] national secretary-treasurer of [illegible] of Sleeping Car Porters.

The speakers at Union Square will [illegible] 6 p. m. The local division [illegible] March on Washington Movement has issued 100,000 [illegible] 1,000 posters in [illegible] Brooklyn during the [illegible] citywide conference on Friday, July 17, [illegible] representatives of 50 [illegible] in motion plans [illegible] chairmanship [illegible] Organizations [illegible] conference in [illegible] Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, International Ladies Garment Workers Union, Joint Board of Laundry Workers Union, Building Service Employees Union, United Transport Service Employees of America, Frederick Douglass Society, Modern Trend, Youth Club, Negro Women, Incorporated and Workers Defense League.

"We are asking all Negroes in New York join us at 56th street and Eighth avenue on Saturday, to show our silent determination that democracy shall be won at home as well as abroad. We call upon Negroes throughout the country and those in New York who cannot march with us to observe five minutes of silence wherever they are on Saturday.

Mo W M
Murray

FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1942

Murray Welcomes UTSEA Into CIO

President Philip Murray of the Congress of Industrial Organization welcomes leaders of the United Transport Service Employees of America into the CIO, after charter was presented to Secretary-Treasurer John L. Yancey (left) and President Willard S. Townsend (right). President Townsend who is a member of the Executive Board of the CIO, will address the shop craft employees of the Missouri Pacific Railroad at Dubisson Hall, August 8, 1942 at Little Rock. He will also present charter to their newly created UTSEA-CIO Local.

Pittsburgh Courier - July 25, '42

Fair Enough — by Westbrook Pegler

From the N. Y. World Telegram, July 16, 1942

Some time ago a Negro boy whom I have known about three years came to New York with his regiment and telephoned his uncle, who is one of my close friends, to say that he had a few hours in town before embarking for an unknown destination, somewhere overseas. The boy is only 18 years old. He is an orphan and a volunteer soldier who might have waited for the draft and might have tried to make himself indispensable at a bench or lathe in some war factory. He enlisted last fall on his own decision from motives that make him a worthy comrade-in-arms of Butch O'Hara or Colin Kelly or Douglas MacArthur and to the approving and proud surprise of his uncle and aunt, who are his only living relatives. He had lived with his old grandmother in the outskirts of Jacksonville, Fla., until she died, in a region which must have been a ramshackle, smelly slum if I know my Jacksonville, as I certainly do.

His uncle then brought the orphan to New York and put him into a suburban high school for a term or two, where he did all right. Then abruptly, he quit and got work at a succession of such jobs as are available to Negro boys. He was now on his own and free to go helling around the drinking joints in Harlem until all hours and to get into trouble and, in some reckless or accidental adventure, establish a permanent police record as a bad actor, if he felt so inclined.

* * *

But last fall he enlisted and was sent to a number of army places before he found himself back in Florida driving a big truck. He didn't tell me, he didn't have to tell anyone because everybody knows that, although he was an American soldier in the uniform of his country, in Florida he still found himself in a class below that of the most treacherous undiscovered traitor of the German Bund and barred not only from the haunts of the white civilians whose very lives he had volunteered to defend with his life, but forbidden even to buy a sandwich or a glass of milk in a white restaurant.

Nevertheless, at the very moment of embarkation for a voyage through dangerous waters in face of other dangers overseas, he not only was uncomplaining but happy and anxious only lest his uncle worry about him.

Now, assuming that this boy comes back from the war to a victorious country, what status will he come back to? Will he be niggerized again and restricted to menial jobs, Jim-Crowed and driven back to the dreadful ghettos of our cities or will he be treated as an American?

I doubt that consciously this boy has any idea that in fighting the foreign enemy of his country and of all freedom he is fighting a special fight of his own people for a decent measure of opportunity and consideration from the white Americans. But shame, if no other force, should compel the white American to face at last the fact that this boy and his people are the victims of a dirty deal that simply cannot go on. He cannot be asked to fight. His patriotic offer of his life cannot be accepted in human decency if, when it is all over, he is to be barred absolutely from all decent and pleasant surroundings for his home by reason of his race, barred from the trades and the factories and, in politics, only exploited as a club in the hands of one faction to beat another.

* * *

The injustice to the Negro people of the United States is more a matter of superstition, tradition, ignorance and indifference than of conscious cruelty in the hearts of the white men. They live among us, but we do not know them. Except when they erupt and riots result, we ignore their existence. We accept foreigners from Europe and organize leagues to protect their rights, we welcome them into all our residential districts with no more restraint than that of snobbery and all our professions and trades are open to them. But the Negro who was born among us and fights for the United States when war is up is told to stand aside because he is a Negro.

Although my recent adventure with the Negro press has subjected me to some spiritual violence, I am glad I provoked the subject because the experience has made me realize what awful conditions our indifference has put upon these fellow Americans. If I were a Negro I would live in constant fury and probably would batter myself to death against the bars inclosing my condition. I would not be a sub-American or a sub-human being, and, in docile patience, forever yield my rightful aspiration to be a man, to work, to progress and to move out of the slums, yield even to strangers come from other countries, including even strangers who had fought against me in the wars.

Heard in Washington

Showdown Season On

By Scripps-Howard Newspaper Alliance

WASHINGTON, July 18.—The showdown season has opened.

Watch for sensational happenings at Alexandria, where nine French warships are interned by the British. If the French won't put them where the Axis can't get them, the British will.

Watch for action in the Pacific, on the Siberian border, in the Aleutians. If things go badly for the Soviet Union on the European front, the Japs will move on Vladivostok. This would call for American aid to Russia via Kiska and Attu. We'd have to throw the Japs out of them or else.

Watch the north Atlantic, Murmansk, Archangel. Hitler intends to cut the northern supply line to Russia and is trying to force Finland to help. Washington's notice to Finland to close her consular offices was final warning that she'd better not help.

Watch India. It's believed here that Gandhi, Nehru and their followers are beautiful enough to destroy India and themselves, if necessary, to destroy the British.

This is the season for showdowns. [illegible] Japs must [illegible] summer if they're ever going to. So related crises will explode all over the world in the next few weeks.

next week—despite noncommittal attitude at the White House—calling for control of farm prices at parity and for a wage ceiling.

It's being drafted now by an old hand at getting New Deal measures through Congress.

Wage ceilings will be popular with Congress, may prove the sweetening that will make a bitter dose of farm price control palatable.

* * *

Still unsolved: How to get such a measure past the House Banking and Currency Committee, headed by farm bloc member Steagall. It filibustered for seven months last year against origina[illegible]

Herald Tribune, July 23, 1942

Alabama Politician Asks White Supremacy League

Wilkinson Fears for 'Cherished Institutions' in South

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., July 22 (AP).—Thomas Wilkinson, Birmingham attorney long active in Alabama politics, called for organization of a league to maintain white supremacy in an address today before a civic club here.

Mr. Wilkinson, speaking on "racial relations," said: "A herculean effort is being made to break down and destroy segregation, and with it many of the most cherished institutions in the South.

"These and other things will explain why the situation is growing increasingly tense each day."

As support of this contention, he cited fair-labor-practice clauses in war contracts which stipulate that no worker shall be discriminated against because of race, creed, color or national origin.

"The white man of the South who allows dragging the white man down to the level of the Negro must organize," he said.

"If there is room in this country for a National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, there is need of a league to maintain white supremacy.

"It is ridiculous for a 1 per cent Negro population to undertake to change the policy of the Southern people. It is a crime for the white people in this country to sit idly by and allow these Negroes to misguidedly place their selfish interests ahead of an all-out war effort."

Return to
Colden Brown

Randolph Abandons D.C. March

LOS ANGELES, Cal., July [illegible]—A. Philip Randolph has abandoned plans for an "immediate" march on Washington and instead will concentrate on a massive campaign to force the government to make some drastic changes in its treatment of the Negro, was the plan revealed by the militant leader here Saturday when he addressed a newly-organized counter of the March on Washington movement.

Randolph, national director, pointed out that the movement would attempt a non-march pressure campaign and would continue to recruit its membership to "Negroes and white men, and the vast masses of mere workers, cannot find a [illegible] as Negroes."

Pitt. 7-22-42

Negro Parade To Protest Bias

A silent parade, to the beat of muffled drums, will be staged Saturday by Negro groups under the sponorship of the March on Washington Movement to protest against:

¶ The execution of Odell Waller.

¶ The lynching of Willie Vinson, July 16, in Texarkana, Tex.

¶ The shooting of Pvt. Jessie Smith by a posse in Flagstaff, Ariz.

¶ The beating of the noted Negro tenor, Roland Hayes, and his wife, in Rome, Ga.

The procession will assemble at 2:30 p.m. and march to 17th St. and Fourth Ave., where William Agar, of Freedom House, will begin the speaking program.

NEW YORK WORLD-TELEGRAM, FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1942.

Uphold's Beating Of Negro Tenor

Talmadge Says Jim Crow Laws Will Stand

By the United Press.

ATLANTA, July 24.—Gov. Eugene Talmadge today upheld the conduct of Rome, Ga., police who allegedly beat Roland Hayes, Negro tenor when Hayes intervened in an argument between his wife and the proprietor of a shoe store.

"This Roland Hayes was indignant and kicked the policeman," Governor Talmadge wrote in his political weekly, the Statesman.

'Know How to Treat 'Em.'

"The white people of Georgia know how to treat the Negroes and the Negroes know how to act with white people," Governor Talmadge stated. He commented on telegrams of protest which he said he received from "Communist party No. 17," of Birmingham and from the president of the New Jersey State Federation of Colored Women's Club.

"We don't need any advice from any communist party nor any other clubs that are trying to promote racial equality," he wrote.

Signers of Telegram.

The "Communist" telegram was signed by Bob F. Hall, secretary, and the other message to Omega V. Mason, Bordentown, N. J., as president of the federation.

"We are going to keep Jim Crow laws and protect them," Governor Talmadge wrote. "If the Negro does not like this my advice to him is to stay out of Georgia."

Ignore Communists, Don't Red-Bait Them

Amst. News July 25 '42

July 18, 1942.

To the Editor:

Sir—Say, what is happening? Are we Negroes ever to move forward collectively, solidly and constructively?

Crosswaith, Randolph, etc., shouting against Communists, Communism and such. Are they as intelligent, as smart and as sincere as I have believed or are they either seeking to retain prominence at any price or becoming the tongues for the wily brains of our enemies?

Really it isn't necessary for them to follow the line of the Communist Party nor to accept the doctrine of Communism.

However, they should leave red-baiting to Rankin, Dies, Coughlin, Talmadge, Hearst, Coudert, Ku Kluxers and other outstanding enemies of the Negro people and democracy.

Please, Mr. Randolph, Mr. Crosswaith and all other Negro leaders, would-be leaders or just rank-and-filers, kindly leave the Communists alone. Just snub them and work ever harder for your people, country and ideals against our real

"The money which the scheme as generally put aside for development purposes is merely being spent in providing salaries for white officials and so-called experts. Where any sums are spent on agricultural research, they are done so in the service of the white planters. If Dr. Hinden would say who is to administer her Development and

Courier 8/1/42

EDITORIAL

VIGUS

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

(This column represents the personal opinion of Mr. Schuyler and in no way reflects the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors)

Along with Horace Cayton and Marjorie McKenzie, I am concerned about the future of hte NAACP, the March-On-Washington movement, and the general leadership of the Negro masses in the current crisis. Mr. Cayton reports that the recent NAACP confab was just another talkfest ending with the usual resolutions, and I can well believe it, knowing the whole routine from A to Z by heart. However I do not share the Cayton view that the March-On-Washington movement is any threat to the NAACP, more's the pity.

It seems to me to be time for some plain speaking about this whole matter of leadership, and I am glad that it is coming in his more careful analysis.

* * *

The March-On-Washington movement is A. Philip Randolph. Mr. Randolph knows how to appeal to the emotions of the people and to get a great following together, but there his leadership ends because he has nowhere to lead them and would not know how if he had. Every person has his or her limitations, and of course Randolph has his. He has the Messianic complex, considerable oratorical ability and some understanding of the plight of the masses, but the leadership capacity and executive ability required for the business at hand is simply not there. The original March-On-Washington move is now admitted to have been a [illegible] movement [illegible] would not [illegible]. Moreover, there is no organizational set-up or observable administrative [illegible] the [illegible] movement. This [illegible] zoning. Organization is not merely a matter of [illegible] and oratory. It is a science, and one that is largely a closed book to [illegible]. Mass leadership in times like these also requires a little more guts than any of the Negro leaders possess. I know of none willing, like Nehru and Gandhi, to go to jail.

* * *

The March-On-Washington movement is no threat to the NAACP, but that is not saying so much for the NAACP. Despite all the drool about how many Negroes Garvey organized, the fact remains that the NAACP has organized more Negroes for group progress than any movement in American Negro history. However, the fact that after 33 years it can muster no more than 70,000 members out of 13,000,000 people is a sad reflection on its program and its leadership. It could have had and should have a million members but it stubbornly persists in pursuing a course that fails to capture either the imagination or the support of the wide masses of Negroes. Its structure which was basically bad in 1909 when it was founded, has not been changed. It is still doing everything FOR Negroes rather than WITH them. It has been against all those things that any normal Negro is against, but it has considered "advancement" too narrowly. It [illegible] a "[illegible]" [illegible] waiting for something to happen. What few offensives it has launched have been none too aggressive.

* * *

The NAACP suffers the initial handicap as a mass organization of being run by a self-perpetuating oligarchy which the members have no means of swerving or influencing. Consequently it is not as responsive to the wishes of its members as it would be were it democratic. Effective opposition to any administrative policies is therefore impossible.

The Association is swathed heavily in the mantle of tradition and is still run as if we were back in the dear, dead days before and after World War I. It "slept" the great opportunity it had to represent the Negro workers of the country within the Labor Movement. It "slept" the great opportunity to foster and direct a campaign of consumer co-operative education and organization among Negroes. It failed, until recent years, to have any sort of youth movement, and now that it has one it has no program. Its educational program has been scarcely visible and extremely inefficient. Although half the Negroes are in agriculture, it has never had any program for them save to protest the broiling of some hapless cat. Its campaign for educational equality has been a real bright spot, succeeding because it is positive and touches masses of people personally. With two million Negroes in domestic service, however, it has neither message nor machinery for them.

* * *

As a group we have been advancing two steps and slipping back three. Segregation is more nationwide than ever before. The "blood theory" is more rampant than ever. Social ostracism is the order of the day almost everywhere and racial pollution laws clutter our statutes. So far we have discovered no technique except to protest and plead, but now that we have been told that concessions are at an end and equality is "out," war or no war, what are we to do? Most prominent Negroes have embraced jim-crow for the duration although the masses seeth with unrest. Will either the March-On-Washington or the NAACP leaders now come forward and say "Give us all manhood citizenship rights and privileges or we shall refuse to co-operate?" Many embittered, bewildered black folk have awaited some such statement from Negro leadership. They have been let down, or at least they feel that way. If they lose hope and confidence, what then?

A Militant Paper

The PEOPLE'S VOICE

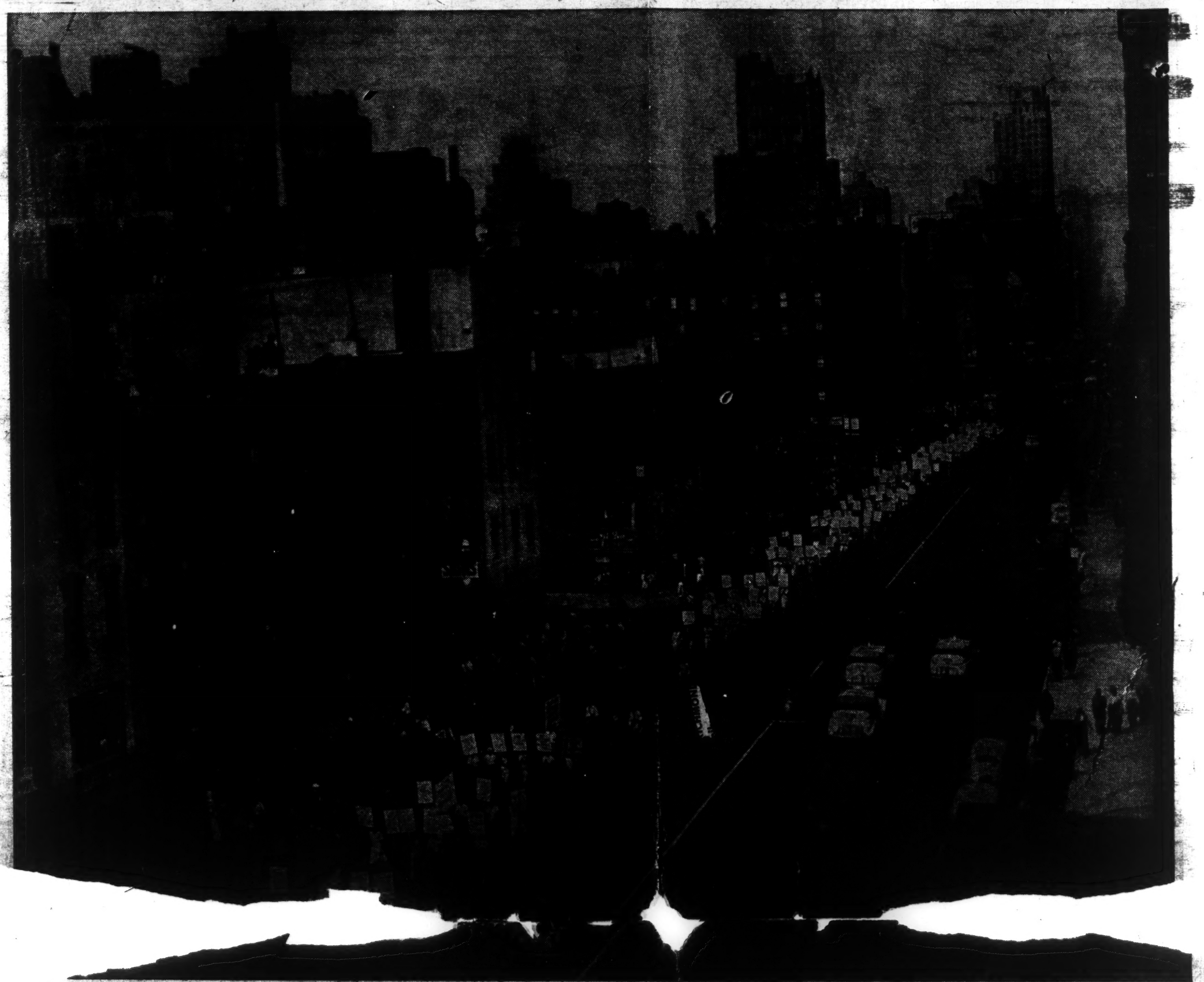
AMERICA'S GREATEST NEGRO NEWSPAPER

Serving All People

VOL. 1, NO. 25 | NEW YORK CITY, AUG. 1, 1942 | 10c A COPY

Denouncing Poll Tax, Lynching, Jimcro:

HUNDREDS JOIN PROTEST MARCH



A PORTION OF THE SILENT PARADE MOVES DOWN EIGHTH AVENUE IN PROTEST OF SOUTHERN MOB VIOLENCE

NEARLY five hundred Negroes in ominous, grim, silence marched to the faint throb of muffled drums with only the beat of their determined feet upon the street, in a non-violent demonstration in answer to violent mob acts of southerners.

The March On Washington Movement made its first actual march Saturday afternoon, through New York streets, from 56 and Eighth ave to Union Square, displaying banners denouncing lynching, jimcro and the poll tax. The most impressive of these was a large, streamer reading: "We solemnly pledge that these our dead shall not have died in vain."

In Union Square the speakers were forced to talk from ladders resting against trucks, since the organization could not afford the cost of constructing review stands and the police would not permit them the use of the concrete stands erected by the city for that purpose. Speakers referred to China, India and other colored races of the world and their problems. One placard called for colored representatives at the world peace conference.

After the march in which many other organizations joined, a truck load of youngsters drove through 125 st singing significant social songs and chanting verses of political meaning.

Among the many white people who joined sympathetically was a woman with a heart ailment. She insisted upon marching twenty blocks when she was forced to quit.

This was the first demonstration of its kind in New York.

The march was led by Dr. Lawrence M. Ervin, local chairman; Perry Ferguson, organizer, and Aldrich Turner. The banners were done by Fred Perry.

The demonstration was observed in strict silence and the faces of the marchers were impressive. A policeman who persisted in talking was soon made to realize the nature of the march.

Wednesday, July 29, 1942

MARCH ON WASHINGTON

Tona Morris (above) is making a speech concerning the March on Washington campaign, on 137th Street and 7th Avenue.

March On Washington Movement

Saturday, July 25, 1942.—The Washington Movement had another side-walk speech Sunday night. The streets were crowded and the many speakers spoke of the Negro and his place in this world. One of the outstanding speakers was Mr. Arthur Reed. He stressed how fear in the Negro keeps him from attaining the equality of the white man. Jealousy is also a downfall of the Negro. Just because one Negro went to college, he thinks he is better than another, or just because he is a trifle richer he looks down on the other man. According to the white man, we are all Negroes.

Baptists don't like Catholics; Catholics don't like Baptists, for the simple reason that Baptists are dunked ino the water and Catholics are sprinkled. Each thinks the other is wrong.

Although Roland Hayes is a fine man and sang for the crown heads of Europe, he was treated as a common sharecropper when he was brutally beaten in Georgia.

Another thing that holds the Negro down is that some or them try to ape the white man by straightening their hair. Mr. Reed quotes "All that can be said to the white man is 'Keep colored in your stores or get out of Harlem'."

Mr. Reed concluded: When this war is over, Negroes are going to catch hell unless they wake up.

Another speaker was Miss Tona Morris. The March on Washington Movement will parade this week from 59th Street to Union Square.

CRUSADER, July 29, 1942

The Crossroads

HORACE CAYTON SAYS NAACP FACING CRUCIAL MOMENT IN ITS HISTORY

BY HORACE R. CAYTON

Pittsburgh Courier - July 1942

I AM writing this just before leaving for the Pacific Coast to attend the convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. This convention is one of great importance to the Negro population and to the country in general. It will be the articulation of the feelings and sentiments of the conventional Negro leaders, including A. Philip Randolph, concerning the Negro and the entire war effort.

Personally I have a lot of questions which are unanswered in my mind, as to what the Association intends to do or what role it thinks it will play in the next few years. I think that the Association, too, is pretty puzzled about what it should do . . . and in one sense is mounting a horse and riding it in all directions at the same time. This is not intended as any criticism, because in these confused times it is pretty hard to know just what to do.

Mr. Cayton

SOME QUESTIONS NEED CLARIFYING

But just to raise a few of the questions which occur to me, and which I hope are to some extent clarified at the convention, I am going to write this little piece. In the first place, organizationally, I wonder what the NAACP has in mind.

Walter White and the Association have been closely associated with the "March-On-Washington" organization, that is, the "March-On-Washington" group. Or do they intend to, in some way, incorporate this into the program of the N. A. A. C. P. The NAACP has a structural unity which could be used in case the "March-On-Washington" reaches the proportion of a mass movement, while the "March-On-Washington" has a mass following which the Association, in most places, does not have. As closely as the two organizations have been associated, and in view of the fact that A. Philip Randolph is to receive the Spingarn Medal, it seems to me that out of the convention clarification as to whether there is going to be one or two organizations should be forthcoming.

FURTHER, if there are to be two organizations, what relationship should there be between them? The "March-On-Washington" seems to be purely Negro organization, and the cardinal principle of the NAACP is its inter-racial composition. I suspect that in these times many people who support the NAACP, mean influential and liberal white people—would hesitate to go as far as the "March-On-Washington" movement. It seems to be going. Anyway you take it, it needs some clarification.

WHAT ARE PLANS OF NAACP FOR NEGRO?

Then what are the Association's plans for the Negro in this present crisis? It can be granted that Negro morale is extremely low. Neither the present behavior of the N. A. A. C. P. nor the "March-On-Washington" is doing much to improve it.

SOME stand . . . I mean something more than just a verbal stand . . . must be taken on the entire war situation. It's quite all right to fight for Negro rights and I'm all for it one hundred percent. But the Association will have to state definitely to what extent it will carry on its program for Negro rights in face of the war danger.

I am not suggesting what it should do, except perhaps that I might point out that the "Double V" program of The Pittsburgh Courier isn't bad, but I would like to see them make a forthright statement and adopt some workable program in connection with this question. What I am trying to say is that I think some program of action, pretty specific and definite, should be outlined if the Randolph movement, or the Randolph movement in connection with the N. A. A. C. P., is to gain the proportions of a mass movement.

NAACP OBJECTIVES SHOULD BE STATED

By a definite and workable program, I mean that the Association should come out and state its objectives in terms of the current situation. How far it is going in either the direction of supporting the war effort or fighting for Negro rights. Whether it conceives of both problems as being so intertwined that one can fight fascism at home and abroad without endangering either front.

Again I hope the convention will have a specific program for its relationship with organized labor. It is not enough for Walter White, or any of the other directors or staff of the NAACP, to say that they are for labor or even to suggest that Negro labor should organize.

IT seems to me that the problems of organized labor, especially those of the CIO, are much the same as those which face the Negro. The poll tax disfranchises Negro workers but also white workers. Through its operation, reactional Congressmen and Senators are kept in office who sponsor anti-labor legislation as well as oppose any advanced social legislation for the Negro.

Phil Murray, president of the CIO, has been friendly toward Negroes, but that's not enough. Now is an opportunity for the CIO and the majority of the Negro population, through intelligent leadership, to actually combine forces on a program. It would be well if the convention could come out with specific steps to be followed in an endeavor to ally Negroes and the great labor bodies in a frontal attack on reaction in the country and the prosecution of the war effort.

This would follow, to an extent, the inter-racial program of the NAACP, but again I question whether it has been thought of in terms of a program of action by Mr. Randolph's "March-On-Washington."

MUST FACE PROBLEM OF INDUSTRIAL DISCRIMINATION

Another problem which we have to face is that of discrimination in industry. Throughout the country, in a number of cities, metropolitan councils have been established to coordinate the work of the various agencies interested in working with the Fair Employment Practices Committee. It would be well if, out of the conference, the NAACP would indicate whether it is to take cognizance of this movement and to coordinate it on a national basis. On the other hand, the Association might feel that it should remain solely as a lobbying organization in Washington.

FROM any point of view, it is obvious that the Negro is now ripe for some kind of national organization. Whether that organization will take the unfortunate trend of being purely racial in character, or whether it will be inter-racial and connected with the labor movement, is one of the serious points to be considered.

ORGANIZATION CAN ACT AS A CLEARING HOUSE

The NAACP by virtue of its history, tradition, and prestige, can act as a clearing house and a leavening factor in this confused situation. Again it can almost lose its identity in an upsurge of Negro masses behind the Randolph "March-On-Washington" movement. Just where they are going, I don't know . . . and I don't think the officers of the Association know. I do hope that this convention can clarify, to an extent, the position, role and program of our oldest national Negro organization.

N.Y. Amsterdam News July 25, 1942

Many Voicing Protests At Anti-Negro Trend

Silent Demonstration Planned For Saturday—Speakers to Greet Marchers

On many community and civic fronts, individuals and organizations were voicing public protest this week to what seemed to be an anti-Negro trend which has swept the country in recent weeks.

In the spotlight of resentment were the Odell Waller execution, the mob lynching of Willie Vinson at Texarkana, Tex., and the shooting of a Negro soldier, Private Jesse Smith, by an Arizona posse.

Many Will March

Most important development in the wave of protest was the scheduled silent demonstration slated by the March On Washington Movement, of which A. Philip Randolph is head. This demonstration will take place through Harlem streets on Saturday, July 25, at 2:30 P. M., and promises to be one of the most dramatic projects in recent history.

Featuring the demonstration will be the beat of muffled drums, tight-lipped marchers, men, women and children, wearing black mourning armbands and carrying signs of protest, and also a five-minute silence period throughout the city in Negro areas at 2:30 P. M.

The line of march will form at 59th Street and Eighth Avenue, will proceed south to 14th Street, east on 14th to Union Square, where the paraders will be greeted by music and prominent speakers.

Chairman of plans for the parade is Robert Early.

Others in Protests

Joining the outcry against injustice practiced against Negroes was the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, 1122 Broadway, New York City. A release from the federation revealed telegrams and letters have been sent to the White House and to Texas' Governor Stevenson, stating:

"We cannot allow Hitler's lawlessness to continue to dominate the Southern poll tax States."

The Fiske University Club of New York City wired the mayor of Rome, Georgia, protesting the beating and jailing of Roland Hayes, celebrated concert artist, in that city. The wire said, in part:

"We resent this flagrant injustice, especially when such actions furnish aid and comfort to the Axis Governments as they point to America's wrongs to her own citizens."

Both the National Conference of Negro Youth and the Manhattan committee of the conference echoed these expressions of resentment.

In the Waller case, the failure of President Roosevelt publicly to urge Governor Darden, of Virginia, to save the life of the sharecropper, recently executed in that State, was assailed by a group of organization leaders led by A. Philip Randolph.

Taking the form of a letter to the nation's Chief Executive, the protest indicted the United States Government for "failing the Negro people."

Those who signed the protest were: A. Philip Randolph, national director of the March On Washington Movement; Frank R. Crosswaith, director, Negro Labor Committee; Anna Arnold Hedgeman, Negro Women, Inc.; Layle Lane, vice president, American Federation of Teachers; the Rev. William Lloyd Imes, pastor, St. James Presbyterian Church; Leon A. Ransom, acting dean, Howard University Law School; Pauli Murray, chairman, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Annual Student Conference, and Albert Hamilton, Workers' Defense League.

JULY 25, 1942

The Negro Struggle

By Albert Parker

Randolph's Petition Campaign

Ever since A. Philip Randolph revived the March-on-Washington movement early in the spring, we — and the Negro masses — have been asking: "What does Randolph propose the Negro people should do now? We fully endorse the major objective of the movement, which can be stated briefly as the abolition of Jim Crowism everywhere. But how shall we go about achieving it?"

At first Randolph formulated two steps. One was to hold mass meetings in key cities. This was carried through on a large scale in New York and Chicago; and it appears that the meeting in Washington, D. C., to be held in August, will also be strongly attended.

The other step that Randolph proposed was a conference between Negro leaders and Roosevelt to "have a frank, candid and plain talk . . . about the whole situation."

On several occasions since then this column has criticized Randolph and the official leadership of the March-on-Washington movement on precisely this point. It is not that we oppose the holding of such a conference. No, for we hold the point of view that Randolph himself expressed on this question a year ago when he was organizing the movement: "Evidently, the regular, normal and respectable method of conferences and petitions, while proper and ought to be continued as conditions warrant, certainly don't work. They don't do the job."

We have continued to hammer away at this question — and we have heard through a mutual friend that Randolph and some of his associates are quite put out at us because while we keep advocating support for the March-on-Washington movement, we also keep stressing the fact that its self-appointed leaders don't have an adequate program to offer the Negro masses. Randolph has never attempted to publicly answer our criticism — he has tried to dismiss it as if it had suppressed the results of the surveys?

Will it prove that 6,000,000 people are in favor of equality for the Negroes? But the government already knows that 13,000,000 Negroes are in favor of it, and that the great majority of the organized labor movement, representing white and Negro workers, also has passed resolutions to this effect.

Will it give added strength to the arguments of Randolph when he finally secures his conference with the president? We doubt it, because the president already knows that many millions of people support the demands that Randolph has raised. Last year when Randolph and his colleagues met with Roosevelt, their request for an executive order was strengthened for the Negro people were planning a March on Washington to dramatize their grievances, and the administration wanted to have it called off. But Roosevelt will not be greatly affected by petitions, not even 5,000,000 of them, because all he has to do is tell his secretary to file them in a waste basket.

If this is the reason why Randolph wants the petition campaign, then not only will it be ineffective, but it also shows how little confidence he places in his other proposal for a conference with Roosevelt.

Now, petitions can sometimes be quite effective — when they are intended as a supplement to action, as a formal expression of protest added to other actions of protest. For example, a petition can be effective sometimes when workers in a plant get together and sign it to notify the employer that if he doesn't grant them whatever it is they want, they will strike or take some other action. Then the petition amounts to more than a piece of paper telling the boss that they want something. It becomes a warning to him that if they don't get their demands justified, they will take other steps that he will like even less than a petition.

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[illegible]

[illegible] have much influence among the Negro masses.

But Randolph knows that we have only been expressing the thoughts of the Negro masses — who come to the March-on-Washington movement in such great numbers only because they think it is different from the other Negro movements, because they think it intends to put up a militant fight against Jim Crow.

So Randolph has felt it necessary to come out with something additional. And what does he propose now? A petition campaign.

This petition is addressed to Roosevelt and it calls upon him to issue an executive order as a wartime measure to abolish racial discrimination "in every hamlet, village, town and city within the confines of the United States and its territories, and in the Army, Navy, Air Corps, Marines, defense industries and every department of the government — city, state and federal."

The aim, says Randolph, is to secure 5,000,000 signatures from "every president and educator of the colleges and universities, leading preachers, trade union heads, captains of businesses, senators, congressmen, governors, mayors, state legislators, city councilmen — together with the rank and file masses, Negro and white."

We cannot say offhand what the reaction of the Negro masses will be to this new item on Randolph's "program" — but we do know what our own reaction is to it.

So far as we are concerned, petitions fall into the same category as conferences with the president. In and of itself, such a petition can't do any harm. But neither will it, under the present conditions, do much good.

What, after all, will it accomplish? Will it tell President Roosevelt and the ruling class anything they don't already know? Doesn't the government know that the Negro people want their rights as citizens? Hasn't it conducted secret surveys and found this out — found it out so definitely that it has been forced to make some concessions under pressure of a movement. That is when they are used as a substitute for other actions, when they are offered as something to occupy the minds and activities of the rank and file of a movement and get their attention away from other and much better means of protest, when they are offered as something to "keep the members busy" so that they won't ask their leaders to take other steps to achieve the objectives of their organization.

We strongly suspect that Randolph's motive in launching the present petition campaign falls in that last category. Randolph, who has had long experience in the labor movement, knows the truth of everything said above about the value of petitions. Furthermore, he has failed to offer a program for mass action and pressure against Jim Crow. For these reasons we cannot work up very much interest in the petition.

Except to say: *Let there be no illusions.* 5,000,000 or even 15,000,000 signatures to a petition are not going to change the conditions of the Negro people. Only an all-out fight against Jim Crow and the system that breeds it and the forces who defend it will advance the Negro struggle.

Randolph knows this too. But he is torn by contradictions. On the one hand he wants to be the leader of the Negro people in their struggle for equal rights. On the other hand he is an all-out supporter of the war and the Roosevelt administration. This accounts for the startling difference between his militant words and his lack of a fighting program.

But the Negro masses cannot afford to sit back and wait while Randolph grapples with his contradictions. They must go forward, seize the opportunities that exist — build a powerful, militant, democratic organization — create an alliance with their natural allies, the labor movement — challenge the political power of their enemies and help to create the Workers' and Farmers' Government that alone will open a new life of brotherhood, security and peace.

HE HAS NOT DIED IN VAIN

by Pauli Murray

IN THE early hours of morning on July 2, Odell Waller walked his "last mile." He preferred to face a firing squad to the electric chair. Those who worked so devotedly in his behalf walked those final steps with him, as the heavens opened and the rains poured down. . . . He was not alone.

His closest defenders had talked with him personally in the death cell, they knew intimately the members of his family, his neighbors and friends, and they were convinced from the start he was no cold-blooded murderer. The death sentence of Virginia does not wipe out that conviction. They had watched through the long night of July 1, waiting for a last word from President Roosevelt; they had tried frantically to reach Governor Darden at 2:00 A. M. They went through the ordeal of dictating over the phone to the press the statement issued by the delegation which vainly tried to see President Roosevelt.

They paced through those endless moments while the sands of Waller's life ran low, unable to eat or sleep. They walked the streets of Washington while the skies emptied upon them, angered, desolate, embittered, crying to God that the hearts of men could be so stony and that the coteries of the Negro people could fall into such a chasm of silence.

NOW THEY COULD SPEAK

But when that barbaric deed was done in the presence of twelve official witnesses, some from Pittsylvania County, who under the law must see that a man is properly burned to death for his "crime against the Commonwealth" when the news finally sank into the brain, and each knew there was nothing more to be done, the lips of his defenders were unsealed and restraints loosed. Odell Waller, through his magnificent death, had freed them at last to speak out as they may and to answer the vicious criticisms which had been hurled against them throughout the two long difficult years of a losing battle.

First, despite the charges of some unsympathetic and often uninformed Virginia newspapers, the defense of this humble Negro sharecropper was motivated by the deepest forces of sympathy and compassion, a high regard for the dignity of human life and a desire to see simple justice done. Waller's convincing statements in the death cell, the letters he wrote to us and his final statement to the world was a naive analysis, but it cut with horrible clarity through the wilderness of sociological verbage surrounding his case. . . .

"Some people are allowed a chance over and over again then again there are others who are allowed little chance . . . some no chance at all." . . .

This painfully written testament by a man about to die did more to crystalize Negro rebellion against a double standard of justice than all the pamphlets and circulars (which seemed to terrify Governor Darden and the peace-loving white citizens of Pittsylvania County) could possibly have done.

Waller's defenders never forgot at any point that the life of Oscar Davis, whom Odell Waller had killed, was as precious to him and to his family as Odell's was to him and his mother. They were at no time condoning the murder, nor were they stirring up racial discord. Anyone who spends a night in Pittsylvania County will know that the racial discord is there. Else why would a local sheriffalty candidate include in his platform the promise that he would keep Negroes off the streets at night?

The people responsible for the first full investigations for the Workers Defense League were neither "outsiders" nor "radicals." They were native Southerners, as deeply aware of the South's problems and potentialities as any other Southerner. As was pointed out in last week's CALL, the only pamphlet issued by the Workers Defense League was "All for Mr. Davis," by Murray Kempton and the writer of this article. The writer stems from farm people in North Carolina and knows the inroads of poverty and suppression upon her people; Murray Kempton's grandfather was a Virginia judge. . . .

These people had the unshaken conviction that a grave injustice was being done, suspiciously like the pattern of racial injustice throughout the United States. Although not confined to the South, unfortunately, it is suffered most poignantly in that region. They felt that traditions of a double standard of citizenship must be scrapped in the South and everywhere if Americans are to remain a free people, the unchallenged defenders of the Four Freedoms.

From the earliest moment of Waller's appeals (when the WDL, the NAACP, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and other organizations took up his fight), these people demonstrated their willingness to co-operate with Virginia officials, press and citizenry. Without the calling of names or the hurling of epithets, at least three or four of the nineteen eminent Virginia citizens who finally signed the petition for a commutation hearing were visited and personally interviewed in November, 1940. *It was suggested that these native Virginians take the initiative in this case to prevent the traditional charges of "outside interference." But these liberal and well-meaning Southerners could not see their way clear to back the pattern of Virginia until two years later when Waller was already in the shadow of the chair.*

Failing in these efforts, and committed to the defense of disfranchised persons, there was nothing left to do but to defend Waller through the machinery of a non-partisan labor defense organization, schooled in the legal battles for southern sharecroppers and migrant workers—the Workers Defense League. The League staff, counsel, and supporters refused to be provoked into retaliation at the insults and indignities levelled at them; despite mistakes and earlier misapprehensions, they marshalled the facts in the case, one by one, and presented them to the public with honesty and restraint.

They wanted desperately to develop some technique of co-operation with the South. They wanted to prove that the democratic process was workable, even in approaching the volcanic question of race relations. They knew, as does every person who has migrated from the South and leaves behind him deep roots in family and friends, that nothing happens in Virginia which does not affect New York and California. They wanted to root out the fears and suspicions that "Innocent would forever be [illegible] human relations below the Potomac and deny the equality of human beings."

And so they bent over backwards, patiently following the democratic process to the bitter end. With the legalistic refusal of the Virginia and Federal courts to look beyond technicalities and errors

Continued on Page Seven

PAULI MURRAY, who has written for THE CALL before, was a member of the delegation of prominent Negroes who went to Washington to try to see their president. A student at Howard University, she is national student chairman of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Several years ago she was executive secretary of National Sharecroppers Week for the Workers Defense League and the Southern Tenant Farmers Union.

He Has Not Died In Vain

Continued from Page One

of trial counsel, thousands turned to Governor Darden, believing that he would set the cornerstone in the structure of a new era in race relations in this country, as a beginning of national unity and of a citizen's for the conscience of national citizens.

Any Negro in the street could have told us what the Governor's decision would be. Those who have personally suffered at the hands of Virginia's justice, as I have done, know that shrewd Virginians have ever more pounded Governors into submission. Waller will perish lynching to go unpunished. This technique is a [illegible] of fairness knowing full well what the verdict will be. Else why would Governor Darden believe a witness whose testimony was bullet-ridden, and why would he go behind a hospital record and get the statements of officials whose testimony was at variance with the record?

And so the Governor found that the only issue in the case was "whether or not Waller was going to his death because he was a Negro." Commutation of a death sentence to life imprisonment is such a little thing where there is doubt as to a man's degree of guilt—but the Governor stiffened his back against the appeals of thousands of public spirited citizens who were interested in this case.

During the past crucial months when the United States has been hurled into a maelstrom of war, when the "land a powerful and ruthless enemy which openly flaunts its adherence to a doctrine of racial supremacy, and where her foreign citizens have been treated with such criminal illegality that what has happened to them could well also become a symbol of all this we are fighting against and opposed. As Joe Louis is the inspiration of their fighting spirit and their aspirations, so may Waller the inspiration of DECENT Virginia and the American United upon them. His tragic electrocution on July 3 and the only another in the series of shocks which the Negro community has suffered in quick

Public Opinion Needed

SENATOR STEWART has introduced Senate Bill 2203, which deprives American citizens of their citizenship if they happen to be of Japanese [illegible] Representative [illegible] introduced a similar legislation would [illegible] the floor of the Senate by "unanimous consent."

No, this is not the Reichstag, it's the United States Senate and it's essential that everyone write his Congressman immediately to prevent the passage of this unmitigated bill of Hitlerism.

* * *

A bill is now before Congress to give men in the armed forces the right to vote in elections. The bill is H. R. 7223, and the only thing wrong with it is that it makes no provision for the men overseas. It would abolish the poll tax requirements for men in the armed forces.

Legislation for total punishment, with totalitarian intended McNutt apparently [illegible] Administration officials, is [illegible] [illegible] with the Connally bill, the Patman bill, and the Bilbo bill pending in committees. There is a good chance that these bills will be coming out into the open in the next months and perhaps even before that. Public opinion is needed to start working on these bills.

The Geier Anti-Poll Tax Bill (H. R. 1024) still lacks a sufficient number of Representatives' signatures to bring it out of committee. A Gallup or pollard [illegible] Discharge Petition No. 1, [illegible] for a vote on the floor.

[illegible] the past two years. The regression from this check cannot now be measured, but already [illegible] clear.

(TO BE CONCLUDED NEXT WEEK)

Installment of "He Has Not Died In Vain"

DANGER SIGNAL: EXPLOSION AHEAD?

(Concluded from Last Week)

THIS IS THE CONCLUDING INSTALLMENT OF PAUL MURRAY'S ARTICLE. THE FIRST PART APPEARED LAST WEEK UNDER THE HEADING OF "HE HAS NOT DIED IN VAIN."

THE NEGRO in America is overripe for an intense wave of nationalism, so acute that serious consequences are bound to follow. Waller was electrocuted only because he was a Negro, despite the protests of 20,000 Negroes gathered in New York and 15,000 Negroes gathered in Chicago, both under the dynamic March on Washington Movement, headed by A. Philip Randolph. He was electrocuted in the teeth of a welter of editorials in the national and Negro press, 17,000 petitions to Governor Darden, the efforts of thousands of outstanding Americans and a rumored personal communication from President Roosevelt. The crowning insult came from the rebuffs to the cream of Negro leadership whose all-day efforts in Washington on the eve of Waller's electrocution ended in despair.

Waller is dead, but his case is not ended. Once before it was pointed out that Waller's trial, coming at this period in American history, parallels in importance the Dred Scott decision of 1856. Dred Scott was sent back into slavery by the opinion of the United States Supreme Court; that same institution refused to consider whether or not a non-payer of poll tax has had a fair trial when convicted by a jury of poll-tax payers, and thus helped to shove Waller into his grave.

THE PRESIDENT'S SILENCE

But everybody, even Mr. Roosevelt, was to have his chance to speak out publicly in Waller's behalf. Having exhausted all legal channels, the leaders of the Negro citizenry turned to the Federal Government. The President's silence leads all Negroes to ask two questions:

Was President Roosevelt utterly unmoved by the seriousness of Negro morale which is admittedly a national problem?

Is his alliance with the Southern reactionary bloc in Congress which helps maintain the Democratic party so vital that he is powerless to act?

It was frightening to experience what happened among the ranks of Negro leadership just after Waller's electrocution. Americans suddenly became divided into whites and blacks and the wall between them seemed impenetrable. The gap between militant leadership and the masses of Negroes became narrowed overnight and racial intensity ran the gamut of emotional outbursts.

A deep anger will follow the sorrow that has hung over the Negro community for the past few days. Sound analysis is difficult on the part of those in the midst of the struggle, but several observations can be made. The Waller electrocution is definitely a setback in race relations which have proceeded by the bargain - conference - compromise method. The 2,500 neighbors who crowded the shabby little Fairview Baptist Church at Gretna, Virginia to pay their respects to the man "who died for democracy" gave eloquent answer to Governor Darden who yielded to those who were afraid Negroes in Pittsylvania County would celebrate commutation as a victory and "crowd the streets." The tenor of Waller's funeral is ample indication that even the most downtrodden Negroes are in a fighting mood.

EXPLOSION TO BE FEARED

Typical are the remarks:

"They told us to get an education—so we got it. Now where are we? Just where we were before—only we can't use it." "America is developing a superman in the Negro because she refuses to let him develop normally." "I'm ready to die right here and now, fighting for my rights like a man, instead of going to some foreign country." "We're having trouble anyway, so we might as well have more trouble." "This question is going to have to be settled with blood—and we don't care much." "I'm a mother with a young son growing up—and before I'd let happen to him what happened to Odell Waller, I'd kill him with my own hands."

A social explosion is in the making. When it occurs the official leadership of the United States will have only itself to blame. It has been warned in the highest circles—that its ears are apparently deaf is an indication that it has not received sufficient pressure from organized Negro strength, or that it tacitly admits America is a democracy—FOR WHITES ONLY!

[illegible] radical groups, are now uniting to use their full strength. They know that if the pressure against Roosevelt from the Southern bloc in Congress is stronger than their own, Roosevelt will continue to remain silent to any demand. They also know that if the President is convinced Negroes are ready to pay the price of their freedom with their blood (as in the Detroit housing situation), he will take action. Which of these two pressures will triumph remains to be seen.

FOR HUMAN (NOT NEGRO) RIGHTS

What may not be realized in this fever of organization and direct action, on the part of those who will take sides with the Negro's battle for first class citizenship, is that the bargaining power of black Americans is more scattered and less effective than that of organized labor. Negroes cannot paralyze production overnight—and the Government knows that. Though they may shout for "Negro rights," their struggle is for human rights and is equally the responsibility of all Americans. They are now facing a blank wall of opposition at the core of our national government—a wall made impregnable by the poll tax and which can be crumbled only by the decent citizenry who will no longer tolerate one law for Odell Waller and another for R. G. Sittle.

With all the apologies of the inexperienced and the impassioned, I venture to say that the poll-tax issue of today is packed with the same sinister implications as was the slavery issue of a century ago. On the surface the Negro is still being fought over, but his enslavement is merely strengthening the chains around his white brother's neck. It is hardly too prophetic to say that unless the poll tax and all the other restrictions on human liberty are voted out of the law, another "irrepressible conflict" is on the way. The Negro has never really taken his oppression lying down, but the Odell Wallers have been picked off to make a horrible example for the rest.

If the conflict comes this time, Negroes will be in the forefront of its leadership. It is to be prayed that white Americans will see the danger signals and lend their full weight to the struggle before it is too late. . . .

Then let this be the quest of all our days,
The fevered pounding of our blood,
The measure of our souls—
That there shall be no rest in any land
And none return to dreamless sleep,
No tongue be quieted, no heart be still,
Until the final man is free
To raise his shoulders to the sky, and mark
Each living soul for friend and brother.

Silent Parade For Waller

By Bill Collins

AS THE CALL goes to press, Harlem is preparing to march in a silent parade to mourn the death of Odell Waller, recently executed Negro sharecropper.

Throughout the nation Negroes and progressive white people have been aroused by Waller's death and the unsuccessful effort to save him. The case has focused widespread attention on the poll tax, on the injustice of the whole sharecropper system, on the second-class citizenship of the Negro.

The Waller memorial parade which was to begin at Columbus Circle and march to Union Square, was planned as [illegible]

tem of poll taxes that destroyed Waller and will destroy many more if we don't stop it now," Robert Early, chairman of the parade committee, said. "We cannot afford to ignore the opportunity of making all America aware of the weakening of democracy on the home front. It is necessary at this time to keep faith with our thousands of Negro service men who come from poll tax states. We are trying to insure democratic principles at home while they are fighting abroad."

The parade, sponsored by the Negro March on Washington Movement, was scheduled to begin at 2:30 Saturday afternoon, with [illegible]

White Press

Crowell NAACP

Our Fellow Americans . . .

NEGROES are

"WE HOLD THESE TRUTHS TO BE SELF-EVIDENT THAT ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL, THAT THEY ARE ENDOWED BY THEIR CREATOR WITH CERTAIN UNALIENABLE RIGHTS, THAT AMONG THESE ARE LIFE, LIBERTY AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS."—DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

WE ARE AMER

On the basis of the principle of the Constitution of the United birthday we celebrate today, we address this appeal to the pe

Right here in our own country is one of the great moral is OF THE PEOPLE OR FOR SOME OF THE PEOPLE? An all- basis. Race prejudice is obstructing the nation's effort to wi THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE MET THIS ISSUE WITH IN riots in Los Angeles, Beaumont and Detroit are sufficient p

Negroes have shared in the building of our common coun sive, their blood has watered the sands of every war in def anyone else's, has built the South. Their music, folk tal it is. This is their country in which they were born, for w which they stand ready to give the last full measure of d

But how are these thirteen

I. **NEGROES ARE DISCRIMINATED AGAINST IN THE VERY ARMED FORCES WHICH SUMMON THEM TO SHED THEIR BLOOD FOR THEIR COUNTRY.** They are drafted in jim-crow quotas, trained in jim-crow regiments and separated from their white comrades in arms in the fighting units. All too often, they are herded into menial tasks and labor battalions.

II. **NEGROES ARE DENIED EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN BOTH PUBLIC AND PRIVATE EMPLOYMENT.** They are discriminated against in training, placement, up-grading, and wages in war industry. Sometimes this is true when the Government itself is the employer. Moreover, thirty-three international labor unions bar Negroes from membership.

III. **NEGROES ARE DENIED THE RIGHT TO VOTE IN MOST OF THE SOUTHERN STATES.** A combination of intimidation, poll taxes, "white primaries," and all manner of specious "tests," stand as barriers between the Negro and the ballot box.

IV. **NEGROES ARE DENIED EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY.** In most of the South the Negro child receives less than half of his share of the funds for public education, the Negro graduate student is denied the training

Americans too!

"ALL PERSONS BORN OR NATURALIZED IN THE UNITED STATES, AND SUBJECT TO THE JURISDICTION THEREOF, ARE CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES AND OF THE STATE WHEREIN THEY RESIDE."—CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES, 14th AMENDMENT.

ERICANS TOO!

ited States and the Declaration of Independence, whose 167th e people of America and to the conscience of the world.

l issues of this war: SHALL WE HAVE DEMOCRACY FOR ALL all-out war against facism cannot be fought on a jim-crow o win the war and plan a real peace.

IN DIFFERENCE, SUPPRESSION AND VIOLENCE. The recent nt proof of this.

coun try. From the Boston Massacre to the North African offen- defense of American democracy. Their labor, more than tales and dreams have helped make American culture what or which they and their fathers have toiled and died and to of devotion.

n million Americans treated?

I. **DEMAND A DEMOCRATIC ARMY.** We call upon the President to enforce section 4A of the 1940 Draft Act which reads: "In the selection and training of men under this act, and in the interpretation and execution of the provisions of this Act, there shall be no discrimination against any person on account of race or color.

II. **WE DEMAND EQUAL ACCESS TO EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES.** This means a Fair Employment Practice Committee which has power to enforce decisions based on its findings; and no discrimination in training opportunities, placement, wages, promotions and membership in trade unions.

III. **WE DEMAND AN END TO DISFRANCHISEMENT IN THE SOUTH.** The enactment of a Federal anti-poll tax law, abolition of the white primaries and other registration device that limits a free suffra and enforcement of the 14th and 15th amendments to the Constitution will guarantee the right to vote to a

of equ... ...n in the North
professors ... the faculties o...
American univer...

V. **NEGROES ARE CARI... TURED AND SLANDERED IN THE PRESS AND ON THE S. AGE, SCREEN AND RADIO.** School textbooks paint the Negro as a happy slave, a buffoon and a corrupt citizen. Best-selling novels and million dollar movie plays repeat this lie of the history books. Newspapers play up Negro crime and play down the constructive achievements o Negroes.

VI. **NEGROES ARE DENIED PARTICIPATION IN THE POLICY FORMING ADMINISTRATION OF GOVERNMENT.** Even whe there are Negro "race relations" advisers to government agencie these "advisers" are not permitted to determine policy, even i this special area, and nobody accepts their advice.

VII. **NEGROES ARE FORCED TO LIVE IN RESTRICTED RESIDEN TIAL AREAS AND SEGREGATED HOUSING PROJECTS.** Isolat and forced into a ghetto, the Negro thus becomes the prey profiteers and other exploiters.

VIII. **NEGROES ARE JIM-CROWED IN TRAINS, BUSSES, THEATR HOTELS, RESTAURANTS AND OTHER PUBLIC PLACES; A THROUGHOUT THE SOUTH ARE FORCED INTO JIM-CRO SCHOOLS, LIBRARIES, HOSPITALS AND OTHER INSTIT TIONS SUPPORTED BY TAXES PAID BY ALL OF THE PEOP**

IX. **NEGROES ARE LYNCHED AND MURDERED BY MOBS A COWARDLY NIGHT-RAIDER BANDS.** Such treatment i democracy is intolerable. Accordingly, we appeal to the Am can people to support us in the fight to wipe out these a democratic practices.

"Therefore, in the name of democracy, in the name o and a real peace, we call upon our fellow American for all. Moreover, the colored peoples of the world, laration about world democracy by what happens to and make democracy a living truth."

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

A. Philip Randolph
Interracial Committee of Sponsors
2084 Seventh Avenue, New York, 27, N. Y.

I contribute $_____to the publication of "Negroes Are Americans Too" throughout the United States.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

NOTE—The above statement was drawn up on the initiative of the March On Washington Movement Soldiers' Memorial Field, Chicago, Ill., July 4, 1943, in connection with the "WE ARE AMERICANS, TOO"

men.

WE DEMAND EQUAL ACCESS TO EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES. This means equal facilities for the Negro child, equal pay for the Negro teaches and for the Negro student equal access to public, tax-supported institutions of learning.

V. WE DEMAND THAT THE STORY OF THE NEGROES' CONTRIBUTION TO AMERICA AND TO THE WORLD BE TOLD. THE NEWSPAPERS, RADIO AND SCREEN CAN THUS END THE CARICATURE AND SLANDER OF NEGROES.

VI. WE DEMAND NEGRO AND MINORITY GROUP REPRESENTATION ON ALL ADMINISTRATIVE AGENCIES SO THAT THESE GROUPS MAY BE ABLE TO DETERMINE POLICIES FOR ALL OF THE PEOPLE.

VII. WE DEMAND AN END TO RESIDENTIAL GHETTOS AND "RESTRICTIVE COVENANTS."

VIII. WE DEMAND ABROGATION OF EVERY LAW WHICH MAKES A DISTINCTION IN TREATMENT BETWEEN CITIZENS BASED ON RELIGION, CREED, COLOR OR NATIONAL ORIGIN.

IX. WE DEMAND THE STRICT ENFORCEMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION—ESPECIALLY OF THAT CLAUSE WHICH GUARANTEES: "NO PERSON SHALL BE DEPRIVED OF LIFE, LIBERTY OR PROPERTY WITHOUT DUE PROCESS OF LAW."

ame of the common interests of humanity, in the name of a real victory ericans to join with us in this struggle for human dignity and equal justice world, in Asia, Africa and Latin America will test the sincerity of our decns to the Negro right here in the United States. Let us band together

SIGNATURES:

A. Philip Randolph — *Layle Lane*

E. Pauline Myers — *Cornelius Scott*

Aldrich Turner — *Dr. L. D. Reddick*

Alfred Baker Lewis

ent and was formally unveiled as a scroll at an Inter-Faith, Inter-Denominational, Interracial Prayer Service, O" CONFERENCE, called by the March On Washington Movement.

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

SUBJECT FILE March On Washington Movement
Printed Matter

Undated

CW

8 POINT PROGRAM

MARCH-ON-WASHINGTON MOVEMENT

"Winning Democracy for the Negro Is Winning the War for Democracy"

The war in which our country is engaged not only involves a major share of its resources, but also everyone of its citizens both white and black. The Negro citizen, therefore, who is part of the warp and woof of these United States, is vitally concerned not only in a military victory of his country but also in the triumph of the expressed aims of the war.

Every statement of war aims by responsible leaders in all walks of life, the principles of the four freedoms, the eight point program of the Atlantic Charter, that is to say, the hopes of a much needed Pacific Charter, express the desire that the outcome of this vast and terrible conflict will be the triumph of democracy and its establishment on a wide and firmer basis. To insure such a result the preservation and extension of our democratic principles must be an essential part of winning the war.

For the masses of people abstract principles have vitality only in concrete expression: "Freedom from want is real only when it means a chance to work for sufficient food, clothing and shelter. Likewise for the Negro, and for all oppressed people everywhere, the fight for democracy has meaning only when it grants to them the full measure of every right as well as of every obligation for which democracy stands.

We Negroes do not enjoy these rights in the country to which we have given fully of our labor, our talents and of our blood. To insure that national unity so essential for victory is in imperative that the Negro be given an equal charge with every other American to enjoy the privileges of American citizenship.

The source of our disabilities lies in the caste system maintained by the Southern states, where segregation and discrimination in social, economic and political life spreads its vicious influence elsewhere. Only an all-attack by the national government on this caste system at its source will destroy its danger to national unity.

Therefore, 13,000,000 Negroes representing one-tenth of the population demand of our national government this 8 point program for winning democracy for the Negro and thereby winning the war for democracy.

1. We demand in the interest of national unity, the abrogation of every law which makes a distinction in treatment between citizens based on religion, creed, color, or national origin. This means an end to Jim Crow in education, in housing, in transportation and in every other social, economic and political privilege and especially we demand, in the capital of the nation, an end to all segregation in public places and in public institutions.

2. We demand legislation to enforce the 5th and 14th amendments guaranteeing that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law so that the full weight of the national government may be [illegible] the protection of life and thereby may end the disgrace of lynching.

3. We demand the enforcement of the 14th and 15th amendments and the enactment of the Pepper Poll Tax Bill so that all barriers to the exercise of the suffrage are eliminated.

4. We demand the abolition of segregation and discrimination in the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Air Corps, and all other branches of national defense.

5. We demand an end to discrimination in jobs and job training. Further, we demand that the F. E. P. C. be made a permanent administration agency of the U. S. Government and that it be given power to enforce its decisions based on its findings.

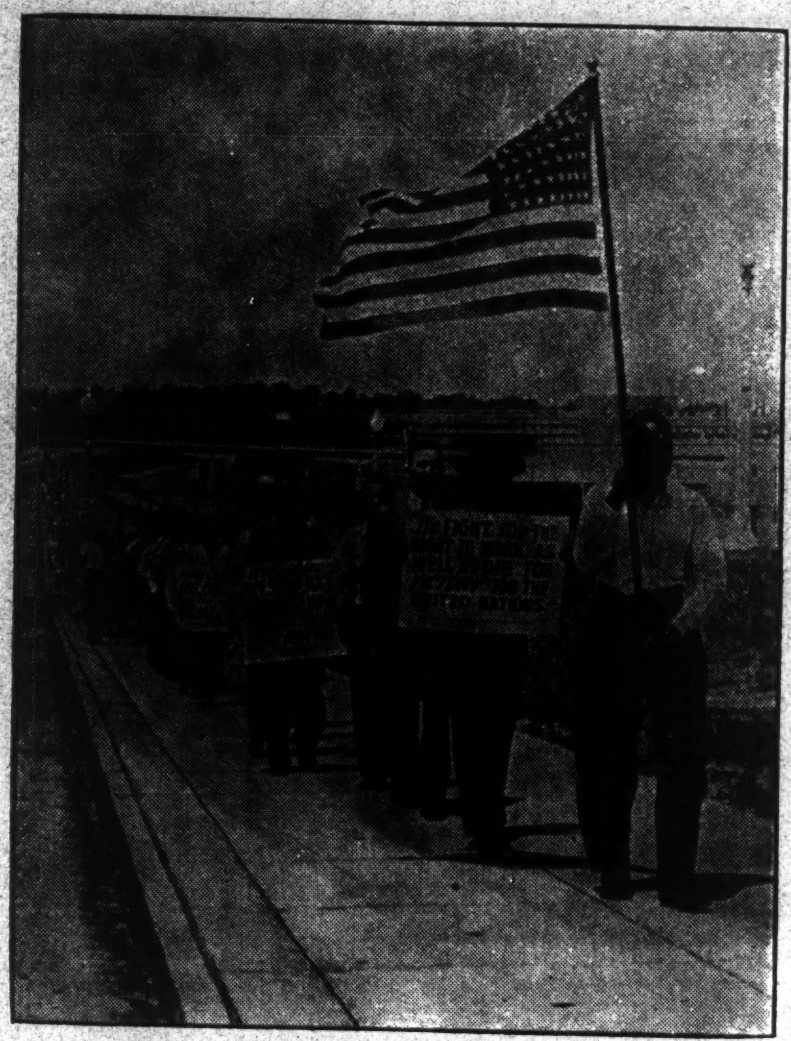
6. We demand that federal funds be withheld from any agency which practices discrimination in the use of such funds.

7. We demand Negro and minority group representation on all administrative agencies so that these groups may have recognition of their democratic right to participate in formulating policies.

8. We demand representation for the Negro and minority racial groups on all missions, political and technical, which will be sent to the peace conference so that the interests of all people everywhere may be fully recognized and justly provided for in the post war settlement.

Nothing less than this program will afford Negroes their constitutional rights; nothing less will be an evidence of America's devotion to the democratic way of life.

MARCH ON WASHINGTON



March on Washington Marches on War Plant

Believes in

ACTION

TO GET

RESULTS!

NEGROES AT WORK IN AIRCRAFT PLANT

OWI PHOTO

...Give...

May 17

to

June 20

MASS ACTION AT WORK—FOR WORK!

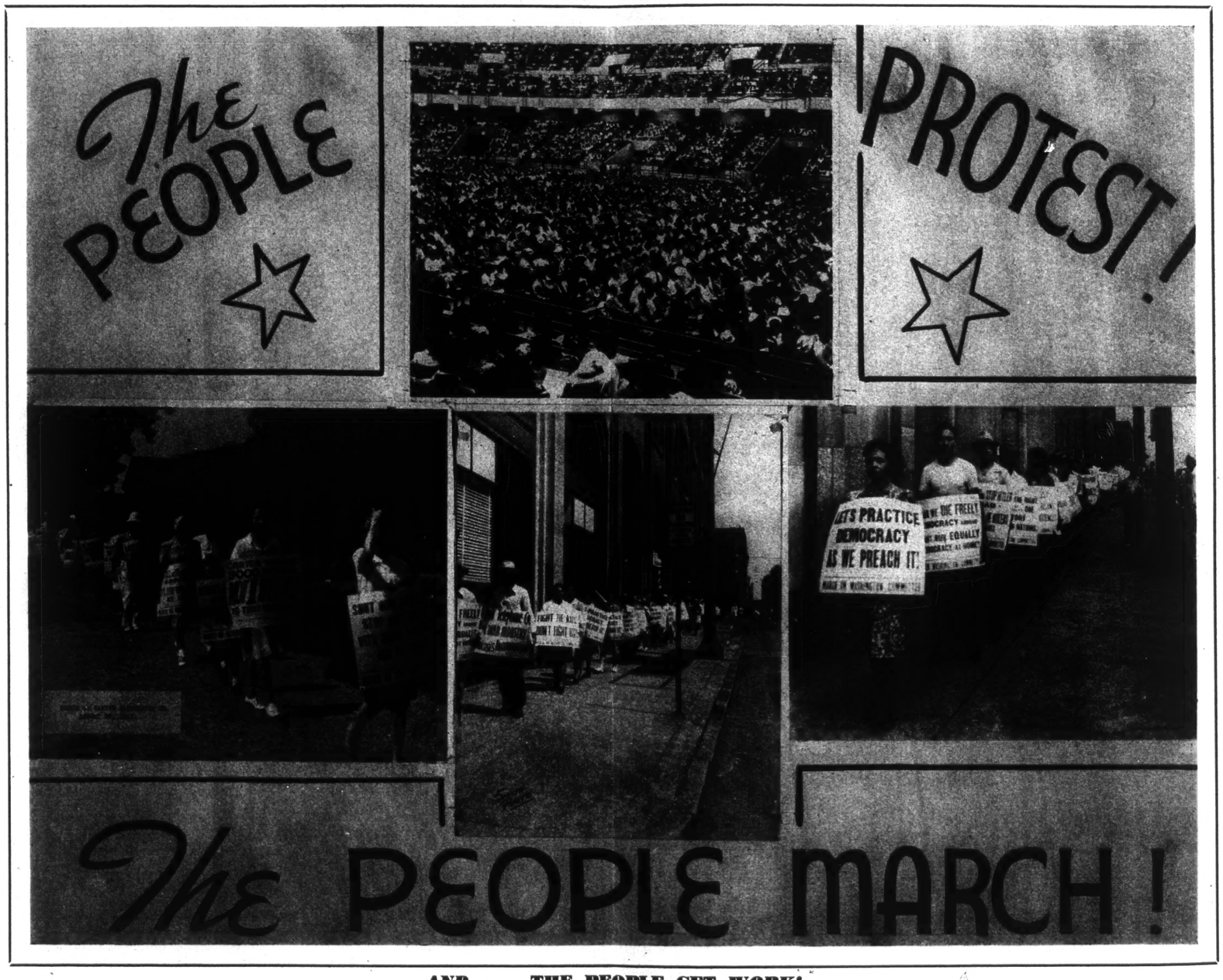
We Must Continue the Fight for a Government *OF ALL* the People, *FOR ALL* the People, and *BY ALL* the People

FOR TWO YEARS

THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON COMMITTEE has for two years led the fight for jobs for Negroes throughout America and in St. Louis. This work has been done by people who have received no pay. The funds that have been spent to carry on the fight have been given by Negroes who believe that the Negro himself must pay for his economic freedom.

During the past two years, over 10,000 local citizens have signed the *MARCH ON WASHINGTON* pledge card. The pledge that says "We must have equal job opportunities"—the pledge that demands "equality of living with the sacrifices we are making on the war front and the taxes we pay on the home front." THIS FIGHT MUST CONTINUE.

While others talk and beg, we ACT through the use of the technique and strategy of mass pressure and mass *action!*



THE BATTLE IS NOT OVER

We have made some gains during the war crisis, *YET* more than 100 plants in war production in St. Louis still refuse to employ Negroes—and 250 refuse to hire Negro women. The gains we have made must be protected — and a place must be found for our boys when they return. When peace comes, there *can be no peace* for the Negro unless we have *JOBS*.

We have worked, we have fought, we have died. We now want to be given full American citizenship. There are *strong* interests in America that are determined to keep the Negro *unemployed, uneducated,* and *afraid,* but we defy this attitude with a determination to battle for a *full share* of the best that America has, for we have earned it with the sweat of the brow and the sacrifices of our dead and blood that has been spilled on every battle field on which America has fought. The battle is not over, the battle is on, the Negro people fight!

AND . . . THE PEOPLE GET WORK!

In May, 1942, Negro workers were barred from skilled jobs in practically all St. Louis war plants (250 porters at U. S. Cartridge—100 porters at Curtiss-Wright, etc.)

Militant and uncompromising fighting has resulted in securing thousands of better jobs in plants such as U. S. Cartridge, Curtiss-Wright, St. Louis Car Company, Weldon Springs Ordnance Works, Southwestern Bell Telephone and others. There are now 25,000 Negroes working in local war plants. It is conservatively estimated that St. Louis Negroes are now earning $450,000 per week more than they would be receiving if *March on Washington* had not made and kept up our fight.

Several thousand St. Louis Negroes who never would have gotten the opportunity if we hadn't fought, are proving from day to day that Negroes are efficient at skilled and semi-skilled work if given the chance to learn.

In every instance where we have been able to force integration of Negro workers the results prove that whites and Negroes CAN work together, peacefully and to the mutual advantage of all concerned.

In all of the plants where these new Negro workers are given a democratic opportunity to join unions, they are thoroughly disproving the infamous lie that *"Negroes don't make good union members."*

All of this, particularly the industrial experience and training being accumulated, puts us in a much better position to compete for jobs when peace comes and the bottom drops out of the labor market.

THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON COMMITTEE SEEKS FUNDS TO CARRY ON THIS FIGHT

During the past two years we have spent $7,000 in carrying on the fight for the economic deliverance of the Negro in St. Louis. A mere pittance for such fine results. Your contributions made this fund possible.

Your Contribution Will Help in the Continuance of This Fight

JOIN MARCH ON WASHINGTON COMMITTEE *TODAY!*

We must *pay* to back up our *words* and our *convictions*.

◆ ◆

The People Speak, the People March, the People Pay, the People Get Results

◆ ◆

Donations from $1.00 to $25.00 or more are sought in this effort that is to continue from May 17th to June 20th.

Don't Wait To Be Solicited — Mail In Your Donation

Speak **FOR JOBS**
March **FOR JOBS**
Give **FOR JOBS**

A. Philip Randolph

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

— Our Leader —

Will Close the Financial Drive

Tuesday, June 20th — 8:00 P. M.

◆ ◆

PINE STREET "Y" GYM

Ewing at Pine

◆ ◆

— HEAR HIS MESSAGE —

He will report on the nation-wide activities of the MARCH MOVEMENT and on his recent crusade into the lair of "Boss" Crump, Czar of Memphis, Tennessee.

MARCH ON WASHINGTON COMMITTEE ST. LOUIS UNIT 11 N. JEFFERSON, ROOM 412—FR 0033

The war's greatest Scandal!

THE STORY OF JIM CROW IN UNIFORM

5¢

PUBLISHED BY THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT

THE WAR'S GREATEST SCANDAL

The Story of Jim Crow in Uniform

Written by Dwight Macdonald **Research by Nancy Macdonald**

FORT BENNING, GA., May 2, 1941: The body of a Negro private, Felix Hall, is found hanging from a tree, arms and legs bound. Negro groups charge Private Hall was lynched. The *Bulletin* of the NAACP states that at Fort Benning "concentration camp tactics are allegedly being used against colored soldiers, and torture and killings take place at the pleasure of the military police."

FAYETTEVILLE, N. C., August 6, 1941: Sergeant E. L. Hargraves, white military policeman, and Private Need Turman, Negro engineer, are killed and four other soldiers are wounded in a gun battle between white and Negro soldiers on a crowded bus. Cause: brutality by white M.P.'s.

PRESCOTT, ARK., August 17, 1941: 43 Negro soldiers from the 97th Engineer Battalion go A.W.O.L. and return to their former station, in Michigan, after weeks of violent persecution by local whites. "Trouble started in Little

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Foreword

The conscience of the American people is disturbed by the existence of two American armies: the U. S. Army and the U. S. Army (Colored). The aim of this pamphlet is to present a true picture of jimcrowism in the armed services and to enlist the mind and will of all Americans, Negro and white, who are concerned with democracy.

There are those who feel that at a time like this any attempt to raise the color question is utopian and ill-advised. But we of the March on Washington Movement cannot agree. We feel our movement must make known to the American people the whole shameful story of the oppression, exploitation and indignity to which Negroes are being subjected in the armed forces. Otherwise, how can we pretend to be a movement for economic, social and political justice?

In this and other activities, we of the March on Washington Movement believe that we are doing battle for democratic principles. We are trying to realize freedom, truth and justice in the national life. Our struggle for complete equality for all men regardless of race, religion or national origin is the basic struggle to preserve and extend democracy in these United States.

E. PAULINE MYERS
(Executive Secretary, March on Washington Movement)

Rock," states Sergeant James Humphries, "after a fight between a white copper and one of our boys. The copper started it when he slapped the soldier. . . . We found we had no Negro M.P.'s; these had been replaced with whites. And the whites were not any too anxious to protect us. Negro M.P.'s had been requested but refused. We were told that white Southerners would not stand for Negro M.P.'s. . . . Then we moved again. . . . I saw some of the white armed civilians in parked autos along the highway. Then one of our sentries was attacked. He had a rifle but it was empty. . . . Then on Thursday hell broke loose."

ALEXANDRIA, LA., January 11, 1942: Twenty-eight Negro soldiers shot or clubbed in a race riot provoked by the attempt of a white M.P. to arrest a Negro soldier. 3,000 Negro soldiers put under arrest by white M.P.'s and city and state policemen. Basic cause of riot: lack of recreational facilities for 16,000 Negro troops stationed in nearby camps; refusal of Army authorities to allow colored M.P.'s.

SAVANNAH, GA., June 10, 1942: Negro troops in the Army Day parade are forced to march at the tail end, behind garbage trucks.

BEAUMONT, TEXAS, Aug. 10, 1942: Negro private Charles J. Reco is clubbed and shot by two city policemen. No action taken by Army authorities.

VALLEJO, CALIF., Dec. 26, 1942: Mistreatment of Negro sailors by Southern whites provokes race riots involving 272 Negro and white sailors.

These things have happened in an army supposed to be fighting for democracy. They could be multiplied a hundredfold. It is mere good luck that this undeclared war against part of our own armed forces has not broken out into large-scale rioting, bloodshed and lynching. The pattern is always the same: brutal and humiliating treatment of Negroes wearing the uniform of their country, and complete failure of the Army authorities to protect those wearing that uniform. A fantastic situation in an Army supposedly dedicated to wiping out Nazi racialism. And yet how can we expect anything else when we see those in command of this Army and Navy adopting as their official policy this very doctrine of Hitler?

"MASTER RACE" VS. "WHITE SUPREMACY"

Half a million Negroes are now bearing arms in the service of their country. Great numbers are volunteers: *although only* 9.8% *of the population is colored,* 16.1% *of all volunteers for the Army in* 1940-41 *were Negroes,* according to the Office of War Information. In return for their patriotism, the Negroes of America have been jimcrowed into segregated regiments and used largely as servants and laborers. Although there is a shortage of Army nurses, at last reports considerably fewer than 200 Negro nurses had been accepted—for an Army nurse is a commissioned officer, and the Army doesn't want too many Negroes with commissions. Radio technicians are badly needed. No Negroes need apply. The Air Corps desperately needs weather officers. Negroes are not eligible—their duties might take them to all-white airfields. Registered pharmacists are in great demand—that is, if their skins are white. From every battlefront the cry goes up: More pilots! And not one Negro flyer has yet seen combat. The outstanding hero of Pearl Harbor was Dorie Miller, who singlehanded worked a machine-gun against Jap planes until his hands and arms were blistered and scarred. Yet Dorie Miller, who got the highest medals for bravery

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in action, was only a messman, barred by regulations from rising to combat status. For Dorie Miller's skin was black.

If you are interested in winning the war, this is a criminal waste of human resources. If you are interested in democracy, it means spreading the poison of legalized, official jimcrow from the deep South throughout our entire national life and even overseas. For various reasons, the Army and Navy have always had an unusually high proportion of Southerners in their officers' corps. A man doesn't lose his prejudices when he puts on a uniform. And so a doctrine of "White Supremacy" which is simply Hitler's "Nordic Supremacy" in Cracker lingo has become the official policy of the American armed forces. Racialism is monstrous in Nazi Germany but O.K. in the U. S. Army.

There is, of course, no more scientific basis for American jimcrow than there is for Hitler's anti-Semitism, which is to say there is no basis at all. Other nations don't feel this way about the Negro. In the last war, the French were shocked and bewildered by the treatment of colored troops in the A.E.F. In this war, it is the turn of the British to be shocked. The jim crow policies which American officers have tried to enforce among our troops in England have aroused the greatest indignation in Parliament. "That is the last thing the British Parliament would tolerate," recently declared Viscount Simon, Lord Chancellor of England. His sentiments were echoed by the humble pub-keeper who tacked up a sign at the entrance to his bar: FOR THE USE OF THE BRITISH AND OF COLORED AMERICANS ONLY.

OUR UNCONSTITUTIONAL ARMY

Jimcrow in the Army is all the more inexcusable because there is a specific clause forbidding it in the 1940 Draft Act. Few people are aware of the existence of this clause, Section 4(a), which reads as follows:

> **In the selection and training of men under this Act, and in the interpretation and execution of the provisions of this Act, there shall be no discrimination against any person on account of race or color.**

The military authorities are thus violating the spirit if not the letter of the very law which permits them to draft civilians into the Army. Yet neither Congress, which passed the law, nor President Roosevelt, who signed it, have raised the slightest protest. How is this possible?

It is possible because up to now the colored people have not put up any real fight to enforce Section 4(a) of the Draft Act. They have mistakenly relied on Roosevelt and other "liberal" politicians to do their fighting for them. But the record shows that the Negro gets something from the Roosevelt Administration only when he kicks up a fuss. It took the threat of a March on Washington to extract the Fair Employment Practice Committee from the White House. And as we shall see, such concessions as the Negro has won to date from the armed forces have been won only by a fighting insistence on his rights. This pamphlet has two purposes: (1) to give the brutal facts on jimcrow in the American Army and Navy; (2) to show that the colored people of America, and their white friends, must begin *right now* to make a real fight on this issue.

One Negro who believes in standing up for his rights is Winfred William Lynn. Last June he was notified by his draft board—Local Board 261, of

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Jamaica, Long Island—that he had been put into 1-a. He sat down and wrote a letter:

Gentlemen: I am in receipt of my draft-reclassification notice. Please be informed that I am ready to serve in any unit of the armed forces of my country which is not segregated by race. Unless I am assured that I can serve in a mixed regiment and that I will not be compelled to serve in a unit undemocratically selected as a Negro group, I will refuse to report for induction.

Yours respectfully,
Winfred W. Lynn

THE LYNN CASE

This letter was the beginning of what is coming to be known more and more widely as "the Lynn Case"—an important legal attack, the only one made to date, on military jimcrow. It all grows out of the fact that Winfred Lynn, in a quiet way, is a very determined person, and that he has a brother, Conrad, not so quiet but equally determined, who happens to be a capable lawyer. Until last December, when Arthur Garfield Hays came into the case as trial lawyer, the Lynn brothers carried on their fight practically alone. Winfred Lynn is, or was, a landscape gardener. For the past twelve years—he is now thirty-six—he has been building up a nice little business putting in trees and shrubbery on Long Island estates. He wasn't much interested in politics, and he had no great quarrel with the economic system—"I'll always get by," he used to say. But he did feel very strongly about one thing—racial discrimination. When war came, he couldn't make any sense out of the contradiction between the theory of a war for democracy and the fact of a jimcrow army being raised to fight it. Long before he got his 1-a notice, he used to tell Conrad that, regardless of what happened to him, he wasn't going to be a party to such a practice. Many Negroes talked like that. The Lynns are unusual in that they did something about it, and something effective.

The legal basis of Lynn's case is that Section 4(a) prohibits discrimination in selecting draftees, and that he, like most Negroes, was actually selected on a separate jimcrow quota. He is therefore suing the Army authorities—he has accepted induction in order to make a test case—to be allowed to return to civilian life on the grounds that the jimcrow method of his selection violates the Draft Act. His case will probably reach the U. S. Supreme Court by the end of this year. Arthur Garfield Hays, acting for the American Civil Liberties Union, is the trial lawyer, and Albert C. Gilbert is now the attorney of record in charge of preparing the brief, succeeding Conrad Lynn, who was recently drafted himself.

The Lynn case may turn out to be one of the most important ever argued before the Supreme Court. It raises two big issues:

1. *Is segregation in itself discrimination?* Webster defines "segregation" as "a separation from others" and quotes in illustration William Wetmore Story's judgment: "The very name of ghetto, signifying segregation and disjunction, is opprobrious." The U. S. Supreme Court thinks otherwise, however. The line of its decisions in all the classic jimcrow cases, beginning with *Plessy v. Ferguson* in 1895 and continuing through *Mitchell v. United States* in 1941, has been that segregation is not in itself discriminatory so long as equivalent facilities, whether in transportation or schools, are provided for Negroes and whites.

The novelty of the Lynn case is that it brings up to the court for the first time the question of segregation practiced not by Southern states but by the federal government itself. Jimcrow is integrated so closely into the present social system of the South that it is not surprising that the court, even in its current liberalist phase, has not ventured to disturb it. But it will be quite a different thing to sanction the practice when it is applied by the federal government itself on a national scale to an army drawn mostly from areas where legalized jimcrow has never existed. "Our Constitution is color-blind," wrote

Amsterdam News

WINFRED LYNN

Amsterdam News

CONRAD LYNN

Justice Harlan in his great dissent in the Plessy case. Whether this was a hope or a statement of fact will become clearer when the court decides the Lynn case.

2. *Is a jimcrow army compatible with a war alleged to be fought for democratic aims?* The fact that nothing was said in the last war's draft laws about racial discrimination, while this time Congress voted Section 4(a) into the law, indicates both a general awareness of the paradox of a jimcrow army fighting against Nazi racialism and also the gains the Negroes have made since 1917. There are plenty of legalistic ways in which the court can decide against Lynn: it can reaffirm the doctrine that segregation is not discrimination; it can even declare Section 4(a) unconstitutional because it interferes with the control the military authorities must have over civilian rights in training a war-time army (that is, it would interfere if it were respected). On the other hand, even the most legalistic jurist must be concerned with the army's present policy of spreading the poison of racial discrimination among millions of draftees from outside the South.

Furthermore, an adverse decision will be politically inexpedient in view of the present state of mind of Negroes. It is significant that although the Lynn

case has hardly been mentioned in the national press, it has been front-page news in Negro papers all over the country. When Winfred Lynn went to Camp Upton, his fellow-soldiers knew all about the case and insisted on doing his military chores for him. Another Lynn brother, in training down South, was asked by his white captain whether he was related to "this fellow Lynn that's making so much trouble"—which shows that those on the other side of the fence know about the case too. According to Conrad Lynn, at least six Negroes in his brother's draft district have followed his example, without having the means to make a legal test or to do much of anything, in fact, except go to jail when it comes to that. He also asserts that a large number of Negroes just don't show up when summoned for induction, and that the authorities usually prefer not to do anything about it. The whole question has been smoldering beneath the surface. The Lynn case brings it out into the open and forces a showdown on whether the 1940 Draft Act means what it says.

LET'S LOOK AT THE RECORD

"Negroes are too cowardly and shiftless to make fighting troops, they are fit only for labor gangs, they must have white officers because their own race doesn't produce officer material, it would be demoralizing to mix them with white troops, etc., etc." These are the kind of slanders that are circulated, privately, to justify the humiliations put upon the Negro in the armed forces today. All right, let's have a look at the record.

• The first American to give his life for the Revolutionary cause was Crispus Attucks, a Negro, who fell at the first volley of the Boston Massacre. More than 6,000 colored soldiers fought with Washington (and were rewarded after the war by being told by their Commander-in-Chief: "Return to your masters like good niggers.") An outstanding Revolutionary naval hero was Mark Starlin, a former slave, who commanded the warship, *Patriot*.

• In the War of 1812, Andrew Jackson had high praise for the conduct of his Negro troops at the Battle of New Orleans, and Commodore Perry said of his Negro sailors: "While America has such tars, she has little to fear from tyrants of the ocean."

• Over 200,000 Negroes fought in the Union ranks in the Civil War (and were rewarded by getting lower pay than white soldiers). One of the most distinguished naval heroes of the war was Captain Robert Smalls, after whom the Negro division of the Great Lakes Naval Training Station was recently named. (A Southern-born Rear-Admiral "hit the ceiling" when he learned the base had been named after a Negro, and tried to get the press to kill the story.)

• The Ninth Cavalry, a famous Negro regiment of the Regular Army, played an important part in the Battle of San Juan Hill in the Spanish-American War.

• In the last war, 400,000 Negroes served in the Army, on a strictly jimcrow basis. (Secretary of War Baker said: "We are not trying by this war to settle the Negro problem.") Only 40,000 of them were allowed to fight, the remaining 90% being used only for labor service. None of the three Negroes who then held officer's commissions in the regular Army were sent abroad, and not a single Negro unit of the regular Army went over. Nevertheless, the few inexperienced National Guard regiments that were permitted to get to the front gave a fine account of themselves. Southern-born American officers tried to slander the Negro troops to the French authorities, just as

they have done in this war with the British, but the French, being without racial prejudice, conceived a very high opinion of the American colored troops.

• The 369th National Guard Regiment, recruited mostly in Harlem, served 191 days under fire, more than any other unit of the A.E.F., suffered casualties of 40%, never lost a foot of ground or had a man taken prisoner, and returned home with 172 individual French and American decorations and a regimental Croix de Guerre. A member of the 369th was the first American soldier to win the Croix de Guerre with star and palm: Henry Johnson, a pint-sized Red Cap from Albany, who routed a party of 25 Germans singlehanded in the famous "Battle of Henry Johnson." (The War Department rewarded the 369th in 1940 by planning to convert it into a labor regiment and ordering it to add the word "Colored" to its name. Pressure forced the Department to cancel the orders.)

• Another colored regiment, the 371st Infantry, suffered 1,047 casualties, received 184 individual decorations and a regimental Croix de Guerre, and was cited by the French Commander-in-Chief in the East: "The 371st Regiment has shown, during its first engagement, the very best qualities of bravery and audacity which are characteristic of shock troops."

• The colonel of the 372nd (colored) Infantry received this message from his French divisional commander: "Your troops have been admirable in their attacks . . . and I consider it an honor to have commanded them. The bravery and the dash of your regiment are the admiration of the Moroccan division, and they are good judges. . . . Signed, GOYBET."

• In the green rolling fields of Arlington National Cemetery, just outside Washington, lie the dead of many American wars. Here is the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, the "Maine" memorial, and many another stately military monument. And here is a section pointed out to visitors: "These are the colored graves." Even in death the Negro soldier is jimcrowed by the nation in whose service he died.

THE MASSACHUSETTS FIFTY-FIFTH COLORED REGIMENT IN CHARLESTON. *N. Y. Public Library*

Such is the record of the past, a mixture of heroic sacrifice on the part of the colored man, and of all too frequent slander and humiliation as his reward from the military authorities. It is high time the American people changed this shameful pattern.

SEGREGATION IS DISCRIMINATION

Every one of the half million Negroes now serving in the armed forces is doing so on a jimcrow basis. Every regiment, every ship, every battery, every flying squadron and medical staff and jeep company is either all white or all colored. The most ingenious planning, the most complicated and voluminous quantities of paper-work, the tireless efforts of thousands of officers are devoted to the great task of keeping apart the two races. The instant he puts on the uniform of his country, the Negro becomes a deadly plague carrier, to be quarantined, isolated at all costs from his white comrades in arms.

The military authorities, like the Supreme Court, deny that segregation is in itself discrimination. Actually, however, the record of the armed forces to date in this war is the strongest possible proof that discrimination is inextricably bound up with segregation. The Negro civilian in jimcrow states finds that, even if he is willing to accept segregation, he does not in actuality—whatever legal theories the Supreme Court may spin about it—get equal educational, housing and transportation facilities. And the Negro soldier or sailor also discovers, and even more dramatically, that even if he accepts segregation, he gets anything but equal treatment. The medieval Jew knew that ghetto-segregation was discrimination; the modern Jew in Nazi Germany knows that Nuremburg-Law-segregation is discrimination; and the American Negro soldier knows that jimcrow-segregation is discrimination—whatever the Supreme Court or the Secretary of War says about it. Again, let us have a look at the record.

IN THE ARMY: SERVANTS AND LABORERS

After the last war, the four colored regiments in the Regular Army were reduced to menial jobs. The two cavalry regiments became hostlers and stable-boys; the two infantry regiments became cooks, officers' servants, road builders. As late as the beginning of 1941 there was not a single Negro officer on duty in the Regular Army, and not a single one of the more than 500 Negro reserve officers had been called up for duty.

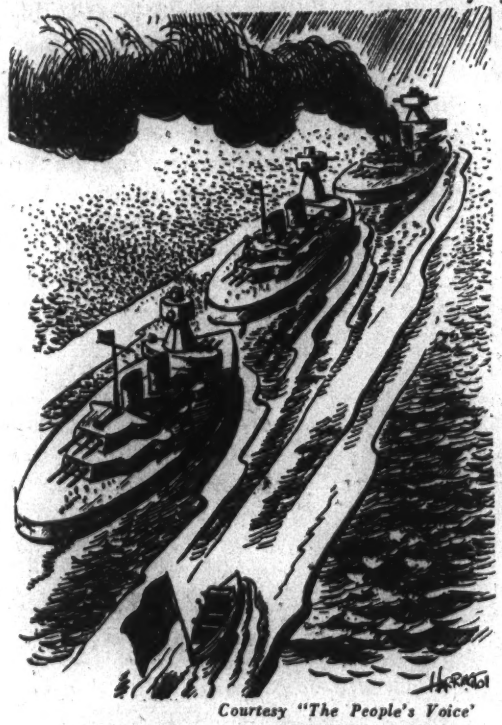
The huge numbers of Negroes drafted into the Army have now somewhat changed this picture. There must be *some* officers, *some* combat units among half a million Negroes in uniform. So today there are some 2,000 Negro commissioned officers, and three regiments have Negro officers from top to bottom. (There was only one Negro colonel in the last war.) In all the other regiments, however, including the first all-colored division, the 93rd, the officers are white —except for a few lieutenants—and the privates and non-coms are colored. The great bulk of Negroes are still in menial and labor jobs: only 100,000 of the 450,000 now in the Army are in combat units. The same is true of the 60,000 Negro troops that have to date gone abroad—as was dramatically shown when Rommel broke through the American lines recently in Tunisia and cap-

tured thousands of Negro soldiers who were armed with nothing more lethal than picks and shovels.

Special mention must be made of the one important area in the entire armed services where jimcrow has been abolished: the officers' training schools. White and colored officer candidates work, study and live together, apparently in complete harmony and comradeship. The very success of these unsegregated schools, in fact, is a strong argument against the Army's claim that riot and bloodshed would result if jimcrow were to be abolished.

THE NAVY MAKES A "CONCESSION"

Up to last spring, the highest aspiration a Negro could have in the U. S. Navy was to rise to the dignity of . . . officers' cook. Only menial, low-paid jobs were open to him. This policy actually represented a big step *backward* in the last twenty years, for up to 1920 Negroes could and did serve in all ranks of the Navy up to and including Chief Petty Officer. They lived on the same ships with white sailors, ate with them, served the same guns in battle side by side with them. Last June the Navy yielded to tremendous pressure and announced that Negroes again would be accepted for regular combat service. This concession was made in the most grudging spirit, and was surrounded with a mass of humiliating restrictions:



Courtesy "The People's Voice"

U. S. Navy: "Cullud Section"

1. Negroes are trained at Jimcrow training stations.

2. They are accepted only as "reservists," for service in "district craft" (small boats) and on shore around Navy Yards and construction projects (that is, labor gangs).

3. All craft manned by Negroes are to be 100% colored—except, of course, for the officers, who are 100% white.

4. Negroes are not eligible for commissions as officers — which means, among other things, that the women's naval auxiliary, the WAVES, is 100% lily white, since a WAVE is a commissioned officer.

5. All Negro enlistments are to terminate automatically six months after the war is over, so that the Navy can rid itself of these undesirables once the fighting is over. The effects of this provision on the morale of Negro sailors may be imagined.

Even with all these safeguards against the ruinous effects of a more democratic treatment of Negroes, the Navy is still taking no chances. It is almost a year since the new policy was announced, and yet at the present writing, only 1,000 Negroes have completed even their preliminary training for the Navy.

THE AIR CORPS SCANDAL

"Reactionary policies and discriminatory practices of the Army Air Force in matters affecting Negroes were the immediate cause of my resignation as Civilian Aide to the Secretary of War." In these words, on January 18, 1943, Judge W. H. Hastie announced that, after two years of getting nowhere in his War Department post, he had reached the end of the road. The straw that broke Judge Hastie's back was the Air Corps' decision last December to set up a jimcrow officers' training camp, thus taking a step *backward* from Army practice. But there were many straws before that.

Flying is a romantic (and highly paid) military job, and the Army Air Corps apparently considers itself much too aristocratic to put up with Negroes. When the Senate in 1939 passed a law requiring the Army to train Negroes as pilots, *Time* magazine reported that the Air Corps "much distressed, quietly went to work on Capitol Hill to get Negro training killed." For two more years, the Corps was able to keep out Negroes altogether. A typical story was that of Walter L. Robinson, a Negro who had finished his C.A.A. training course thirteenth in a class of 300, who was told: "There is no place for a Negro in the Air Corps." Robinson went to Canada, where he was instantly accepted as a pilot in the Royal Air Force. Finally, early in 1941, Yancey Williams, a highly qualified Negro pilot, brought suit to compel the Corps to accept him. *The very next day* the Corps announced that a training center for Negro pilots would be opened at Tuskegee Institute.

The Tuskegee school has turned out to be strictly eyewash. It is, of course, jimcrow (despite strong protests by Judge Hastie). It is over two years since it was announced, and not a single Negro flyer has yet been assigned to actual combat service. In its first year of operation it turned out exactly 50 pilots, which means it will take over 20 years for the 1100 Negroes who have passed the tests for the Air Corps to get their basic training. It trains pursuit pilots only, and the pursuit plane is of decreasing importance in modern warfare. Further, these pilots lack trained ground crews, since the Corps refuses to train Negro mechanics at white centers and has not got around to setting up a jimcrow center.

The familiar slanders about Negroes being incompetent to fly planes are whispered to justify this shameful record. A pilot needs good coordination and quick reflexes above all. That the race which produced Joe Louis, Jesse Owens, Satchelfoot Paige and hundreds of other great athletes cannot fly planes—this is a bit of racial mythology worthy of Dr. Goebbels. Out of 100 Negroes who took C.A.A. courses in 1940, 91 qualified for licenses. In one important branch of aviation, namely night flying, recent evidence shows that Negroes are better qualified than whites. Two scientists who tested 4,000 Army truck drivers found that the colored drivers had much keener night vision than the others. "We never even suspected this phenomenon before," they reported (*Time*, June 30, 1941). "It may result in changes in our military setup on land, sea and in the air." This is the opinion of mere scientists. The racial philosophers in charge of our armed forces know better: they have refused to make use of this or any other special talent of the colored people.

RED CROSS, DOUBLE CROSS

When Negroes see those posters showing a white-robed Red Cross nurse, representing "The Greatest Mother in the World," stretching out her hands

in appeal for funds, they smile bitterly. For the American Red Cross has actually applied jimcrow to the "blood banks" from which it gives transfusions on the battlefield. At one time it refused to accept blood donations from Negroes at all. It now accepts Negro blood but processes and stores it separately "so that those receiving transfusions may be given plasma from blood of their own race." The Red Cross has to be very careful with its labels, for no scientist has yet been able to demonstrate the slightest difference between colored and white blood—or between the blood of any races. The difference exists only in the imagination of a Hitler—or of the directors of the Red Cross, the Surgeon Generals of the U. S. Army and Navy, and the Secretaries of War and Navy, all of whom approved the policy of segregating Negro blood on January 21, 1942. This episode shows us how far those in command of our armed forces have come to accept the racial mythology of the enemy.

Those are the facts, and it is not a pretty picture. What can be done about it? There are three important factors:

(1) The colored people of America have come a long ways since the last war; they are no longer willing to be pushed around as an inferior race.

(2) The Roosevelt Administration has backed up the jimcrow policies of the military authorities as much as it has dared; nothing can be hoped for from Washington without a much tougher fight than the Negroes and other friends of democracy have put up so far.

(3) This great issue must be faced; it cannot longer be evaded and compromised as our political leaders are trying to do. Either you advance towards real democracy, and the Negro with you; or you go backward to racialism and fascism.

Let us consider each of these points briefly.

I. THE NEGRO IS ON THE MARCH

The American Negro has made tremendous advances in the last twenty years, in education, in independence and self-respect, in consciousness of his rights as a citizen of a democracy. These gains are shown in a rise in social status, despite all the efforts of reactionaries to bar his advance. Even in the armed forces, for example, the new American Negro has forced some important concessions he did not have in the last war. It is true that the anti-discrimination clause of the 1940 Draft Act is being violated by the military authorities, but the 1917 Draft Act lacked even the clause. Over 1800 Negroes are serving on draft boards throughout the nation, a great advance over 1917. The Marine Corps recently admitted Negroes for the first time in its history. In the last war, Negroes were confined to the infantry; this time there are Negro units of mechanized troops, armored forces, tank destroyers, anti-aircraft service—shamefully few of them, it is true, compared to the number of qualified Negroes, but still a few. Negroes are in the air force—again, very few, but in the last war there was not one. It took all sorts of pressure to get even a jimcrow officers' training camp for Negroes in the last war; this time colored officer candidates are trained in the same unsegregated schools. We have seen how grudgingly these concessions have been made, and how most of them are so

much whitewash. But it is significant that in the last war the military authorities didn't even have to use whitewash. The change in attitude is a response to the stronger pressure from a more conscious and better educated colored population.

2. THE ROOSEVELT RECORD — WORDS VS. DEEDS

In the crucial months before the 1940 Presidential election, the Roosevelt Administration worked out its formula for dealing with "the Negro problem": *Democracy in Words, Jimcrow in Deeds.* The Rooseveltian formula is an attempt to square a political circle: to maintain a jimcrow army without losing the political support of the nation's thirteen million Negroes.

On September 14, 1940, President Roosevelt signed the Draft Act, with its Section 4(a). On September 27th he received with his customary geniality a delegation of three Negro leaders who came to present him with a program for actually carrying out Section 4(a). The leaders were Walter White, of the NAACP, T. Arnold Hill, of the National Urban League, and A. Philip Randolph, of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Their detailed 7-point program called for equal treatment for Negroes in all branches of the armed services. They got their answer on October 9, when the White House issued a press release stating that traditional jimcrow policies would be continued by the Army and Navy, and that, except for three regiments, all present and future Negro units would have white officers. "This policy," added the release, "has proven satisfactory over a long period of years, and . . . it is the opinion of the War Department that no experiments should be tried with the organizational set-up of these units at this critical time." The release also implied that Messrs. White, Hill and Randolph were in agreement with this statement of policy, which violated every detail of the program they had submitted ten days earlier.

The three Negro leaders at once issued a strong repudiation of the alleged "agreement":

> "We question that the jim crow policy of the Army 'has been proven satisfactory.' It has never been satisfactory nor is it now to Negro Americans. Such segregation has been destructive of morale and has permitted prejudiced superiors to exercise their bigotry on defenseless Negro regiments.
>
> "We are inexpressibly shocked that a President of the United States at a time of national peril should surrender so completely to enemies of Democracy who would destroy national unity by advocating segregation. Official approval by the Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of such discrimination and segregation is a stab in the back of Democracy."

This statement put the White House in a very tight spot. The elections were only a few weeks off, and the Negro vote was an important factor in Roosevelt's calculations. On the other hand, the Army and Navy stood firm on jimcrow, and the President lacked either the courage or the will to crack down on them. Some whitewash was needed badly, no matter how cheap so long as it covered up the ugly reality. On October 25, therefore, a week before the elections, three Negroes were appointed to high posts in the military apparatus: Judge William H. Hastie became Civilian Aide to the Secretary of War; Colonel Campbell Johnson became Special Aide to the Director of

the Draft; and Benjamin O. Davis, the only Negro colonel in the Regular Army, was made a Brigadier-General, the first Negro to reach general's rank.

These appointments, of course, made no real difference. As we have seen, Judge Hastie recently resigned after two and a half years of ineffectual protests, nor do the other two appointees seem to have been any more successful in liberalizing the Army's policies. However, the crisis was met, or rather postponed, and Roosevelt was reelected. A few more concessions have been made since then, as we have seen, but the Rooseveltian formula still persists basically unchanged: *Democracy in Words, Jimcrow in Deeds.*

3. THE ISSUE MUST BE FACED — NOW!

Every one remembers the terrible race riots that took place during and after the last war in this country. The East St. Louis riot—or rather massacre—of 1917 in which at least 39 Negro men and women were killed and the entire colored section of the city was burned down. The 1919 Chicago riots, in which 20 Negroes and 14 whites died in three days of savagery. In the single year, 1919, there were 26 race riots throughout the country. Just what part the jimcrow policies of the Army played in these outbreaks is not known, but it must have been a considerable one. Millions of young whites and Negroes were segregated from each other, taught to regard each other as alien creatures. At least one of the worst 1919 riots, in Washington, D. C., was directly caused by friction between white and colored soldiers.

After this war, we will be lucky if the Army's racial policies inflict nothing worse on us than race riots. A new and sinister kind of political doctrine has arisen since the last war, which feeds on racial antagonisms. A few years ago we got a glimpse of it in the anti-Semitic preachings of Father Coughlin and the Silver Shirts, in the anti-Negro agitation of the revived Ku Klux Klan and Detroit's secret Black Legion. Unless the present policies of the armed forces are greatly liberalized, the veterans of our jimcrow army and navy will make the best possible post-war breeding ground of a new native fascism.

Nor is the danger by any means confined to the *white* veterans. The "Pacific Movement of the Eastern World" was launched by Japanese agents with the slogan: "The Japanese are brothers of the Negroes and the Negro race will be better off under Japanese rule than under white rule." This kind of propaganda has attracted little support among Negroes . . . yet. But already many sincere and intelligent American Negroes are thinking in the terms expressed in a dialogue recently reported between a Negro teacher and student:

Student: I hope Hitler wins this war.

Teacher: How can you make such a statement?

Student: Because I am convinced that is the only thing that will teach these white people some sense—their knowing what it means to be oppressed.

Teacher: But don't you realize that conditions would be even worse under Hitler?

Student: They can't possibly be any worse than they are for Negroes in the South right now. The Army jimcrows us. The Navy lets us serve only as messmen. The Red Cross segregates our blood. Employers and labor unions shut us out. Lynchings continue. We are disenfranchised, jimcrowed, spat upon. What more could Hitler do than that?

When this dialogue was reported to a Negro audience recently, it was greeted with cheers. On the basis of the record of jimcrow in uniform to date, it is not hard to understand those cheers.

Or consider a case typical of hundreds, if not thousands—that of Donald Sullivan, who preferred a three-year term in the Federal Penitentiary to serving in a jimcrow Army. According to the *N. Y. Times*, of May 21, 1942, he "became embittered when he tried unsuccessfully several years ago to join the Navy."

It is not hard to understand Donald Sullivan's feelings. Nor those of Harry Carpenter, a Philadelphia Negro, when he said to a colored sergeant last year: "This is a white man's war and it's no damn good."

Harry Carpenter was arrested for treason. But you can't arrest thirteen million people.

Jimcrow in uniform is an intolerable insult to the thirteen million colored citizens of this country. It violates the most basic principles of the democracy our leaders say we are fighting for. It spreads the most vicious of Hitler's doctrines among the very soldiers and sailors who are dying in battle with Hitler's armies.

Jimcrow in uniform must go! Every colored person in America, every real friend of democracy in America must take up the fight and refuse to be satisfied with anything less than the smashing of racial barriers throughout the entire armed forces. Jimcrow in uniform must go!

The material in this pamphlet has been drawn almost entirely from printed sources.... For a week-to-week coverage of military jimcrow, I found *Time* and *P.M.* especially good. ...The most complete material on jimcrow in the Air Corps appears in the various statements by Judge W. H. Hastie in the last two months, obtainable from the Press Service of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 69 Fifth Ave., New York City. . . . *The Negro Handbook*, edited by Florence Murray, contains statistics and a very useful chronology on Negroes in the Army. . . . The section in this pamphlet on the Lynn case is mostly reprinted without change from an article by myself, "The Novel Case of Winfred Lynn," which appeared in the *Nation* for Feb. 20, 1943, and I wish to thank the editors of the *Nation* for permission to reprint. . . . A lavishly illustrated 64-page brochure on "Negroes and the War" may be obtained from the Office of War Information. It costs nothing and is worth it.

The following articles contain useful information:

"The Right to Fight for Democracy," by Walter White. *Survey-Graphic*, Nov. 1942.

"Colored Soldiers, U. S. A.," by Earl Brown. *Survey-Graphic*, Nov. 1942.

"Legal Status of the Negro in the New Army," by Milton R. Konvitz. *The Guild Lawyer*, Dec. 1940.

"Jim Crowism in the Army and Navy." *Lawyers Guild Review*, March 1941.

"Negroes Are Fighting for Freedom," by Shirley Graham. *Common Sense*, Feb. 1943.

"The Negro's War." *Fortune*, June 1942.

"It's Our Country, Too," by Walter White. *Saturday Evening Post*, Dec. 14, 1940.

"Negroes and Defense," by M. T. P. Lochard. *The Nation*, Jan. 4, 1941.

MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT

2084 SEVENTH AVENUE NEW YORK CITY

What Is It?

An all-Negro mass organization dedicated to winning full democracy for the Negro people. It is pro-Negro, but not anti-white.

"We Are Americans, Too!"

What Has It Done?

It has won Executive Order No. 8802 from the President of the United States, barring discrimination in war industries, the only such order issued since the Emancipation Proclamation.

It has gained jobs for thousands of Negroes in war industries.

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What Are Its Aims?

1. To develop a program of action by which the Negro masses can march towards the total abolition of all social, economic and political discrimination.
2. To draw out leadership from the Negro masses to struggle on their own behalf.

"We Are Americans, Too!"

What Is Its Immediate Program?

1. To eliminate jimcrow from the armed services of our country.
2. To initiate a campaign of Non-Violent Direct Action against jimcrow laws and customs in every part of the country.

"We Are Americans, Too!"

Who Can Belong?

Every Negro who believes in our aims and who wants freedom enough to fight for it.

"We Are Americans, Too!"

How Much Does It Cost?

Ten cents a year a person, five cents of which is to remain in your local treasury and five cents to be sent to the National Office.

"We Are Americans, Too!"

Who Are Its Officers?

A. Philip Randolph, National Director; B. F. McLaurin, National Secretary; E. Pauline Myers, National Executive Secretary; Aldrich Turner, National Treasurer.

Come to the "We Are Americans, Too" Congress, sponsored by the March on Washington Movement, to be held in Chicago on June 30 through July 4, 1943.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
National Director

B. F. McLAURIN
National Secretary

ALDRICH TURNER
National Treasurer

BEATRICE E. PARRISH
Acting Executive Secretary

MARCH-ON-WASHINGTON MOVEMENT

2084 Seventh Avenue **New York City, N. Y.**

MOnument 2-3350

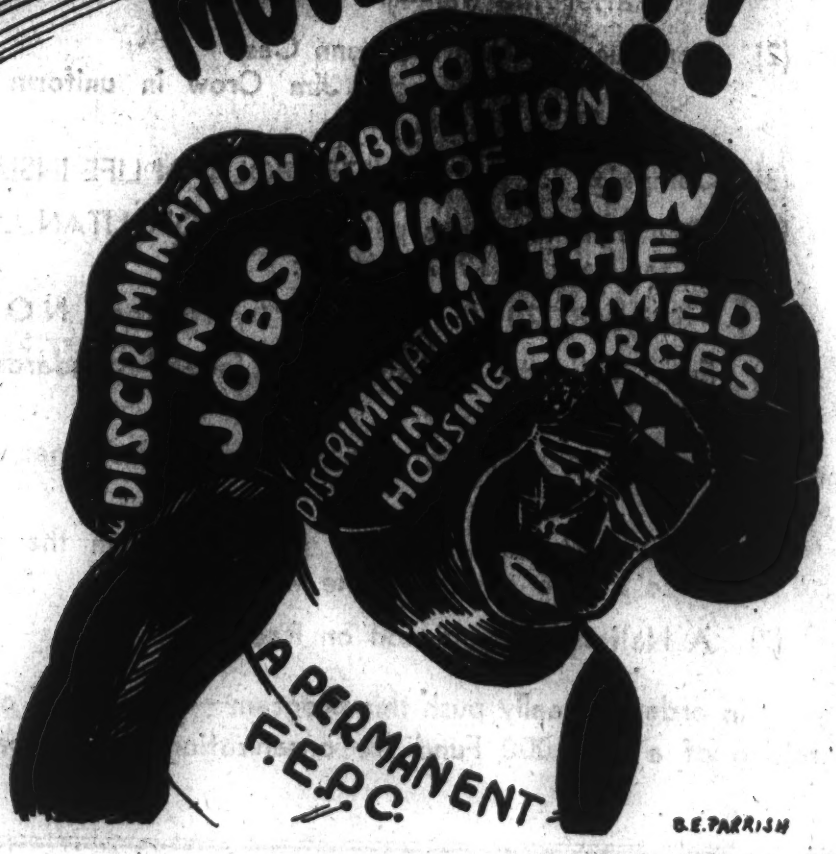
Enclosed please find $1.00 for membership to the MARCH-ON-WASHINGTON MOVEMENT — Also I hereby contribute

$..... ($1) ($5) ($10) ($25)

or Pledge $..... for the $100,000 Fund

440

STRAIGHTEN UP—
AND COME RIGHT TO THE
MARCH-ON-WASHINGTON MOVEMENT!!



FELLOW MARCHERS:

That burden is kinda heavy if you try to carry it alone—but if we all get together it will be a whole lot easier—

Why not come on and join the MARCH-ON-WASHHINGTON MOVEMENT. You know what we're fighting for:

(1) To Make Permanent F. E. P. C.
(And Brother if you think you've had it tough—wait until after the war—)

(2) Continue The Winfred Lynn Case
(Which challenges Jim Crow in uniform NOW! Not AFTER the war)

(3) Campaign for jobs in METROPOLITAN LIFE INSURANCE CO.

Place Demands: Premiums paid to METROPOLITAN LIFE INS. CO. as far back as 1937 totalled:

$37,348,020.90—Jobs held by Negroes: N O N E

(4) Federal aid to education with federal standards and federal supervision.

(5) Enforcement of the 14th and 15th amendments through enabling legislation.

(6) Negro representation and participation in the peace conference before and after the war.

(7) A National Commission on Race.

In order to really push this program—one part of our plan is the raising of a $100,000 Fund for organization and propaganda.

Therefore in addition to your membership fee of $1.00 Per Year —which we hope will be forthcoming with this leaflet—we are asking —$25.00—$10.00—$5.00 and $1.00 our contributions to help accomplish these worthy goals.

WITHOUT YOUR HELP OUR ORGANIZATION CAN'T GO FORWARD — WITH IT WE CAN'T BE STOPPED.

Let's cooperate on the HOME FRONT by doing your share —

So that the boys over there — Will be "SOMEWHERE"

When they get back, OVER HERE!!

"WINNING DEMOCRACY

FOR THE NEGRO

IS WINNING THE WAR

FOR DEMOCRACY"

MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT

2084 SEVENTH AVENUE **NEW YORK CITY**

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How Much Does It Cost?

One dollar a year a person, 25 cents of which is to remain in your local treasury and 75 cents to be sent to the National Office.

"We Are Americans, Too!"

Who Are Its Officers?

A. Philip Randolph, National Director; B. F. McLaurin, National Secretary; E. Pauline Myers, National Executive Secretary; Aldrich Turner, National Treasurer.

LOCAL OFFICE

4304 South Parkway, Suite 8 — Atlantic 8367

CHARLES WESLEY BURTON, Regional Director

Attend Our Regular Monthly Meetings

2nd and 4th Friday Evenings at 8—4559 South Parkway, YWCA

SEGREGATION BASED ON RACE MUST BE BANISHED FROM OUR AMERICAN LIFE!

WHY ?

1. Jim Crow was instituted to debase, humiliate and indignify the Negro People.
2. Jim Crow arose in the United States like Pogroms arose in Germany.
3. Negroes were not damned by God to an inferior status but were damned by man for the convenience of them who would make profit out of the labor of their bodies.
4. If we would destroy Naziism and Fascism abroad we must first destroy their roots in America
5. Prejudice based upon race flows out from America and not into America.
6. It is not a foreign doctrine but a home grown product.

Unite Your Efforts with the

March On Washington Movement in its Gigantic Crusade to Abolish Jim Crow and Racial Discrimination from the United States

ONE DOLLAR PER YEAR MAKES YOU A MEMBER

Washington Headquarters

1628 9TH STREET, N. W.

A. Philip Randolph, National President — E. Pauline Myers, Executive Secretary

Thurman L. Dodson, Local Director

Negro Americans Awake To Action!

LET EVERY MAN, WOMAN AND CHILD UNITE IN THE CRUSADE

To Abolish Segregation in the Armed Forces!

JOIN THE

March on Washington Movement

To Bring Organized Mass Pressure

TO

1. Secure a National Proclamation from the President abolishing Segregation in the Armed forces.

Lincoln did it to save the Union in 1864!

Roosevelt can do it to save the Peace in 1943!

2. Bring the Wynfred Lynn Case to the U.S, Supreme Court! Show whether a Jim Crow Army is compatiable with a war alleged to be fought for democratic aims!

Prove whether Jim Crow is the official policy of our Federal Government!

Unite with the Washington Local

1628 9th Street, Northwest

Membership Fee One Dollar Per Year

WAKE UP, NEGRO AMERICA!

DO WE WANT WORK?
DO WE WANT OUR FULL RIGHTS?
DO WE WANT JUSTICE?

WHAT IS IT?

It is a Negro mass movement to get the full benefits of this democracy.

WHO IS ITS LEADER?

A. Philip Randolph, International President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, founder of the MARCH-ON-WASHINGTON MOVEMENT.

WHAT HAS THE MOVEMENT DONE?

Won Presidential Order barring discrimination in war industries and governmental agencies.

Won the appointment of the Fair Employment Practice Committee to enforce this Order.

As a result, won a change from the Jim Crow hiring policy of some firms and governmental agencies.

But more important, has built a nation-wide unity of Negroes as never before.

WHAT NEEDS TO BE DONE?

Demand more enforcing power for the Fair Employment Practice Committee.

Demand the opening of the Army, Navy, Marine and Air Corps to Negroes on the basis of equality.

Abolish all economic and political discriminations against the Negro.

WHAT CAN I DO?

Join the MOVEMENT and help swell its ranks 13,000,000 strong by paying ten cents membership fee at its offices, 2084 Seventh Avenue, or at a regular Wednesday night meeting, 8:30 at the Harlem Y. M. C. A.

Volunteer for some branch of work.

Support the MADISON SQUARE GARDEN RALLY of the MOVEMENT to be held June 16th by selling tickets, soliciting contributions, distributing publicity, speaking before groups or doing such work as you think will aid in the cause of the MOVEMENT.

"Winning Democracy for the Negro Is Winning the War for Democracy"

Headquarters:

NEW YORK DIVISION — "MARCH-ON-WASHINGTON MOVEMENT"

Phone: MOnument 2-3350 HOTEL THERESA 2084 Seventh Avenue

1034 Seventh Avenue · Phone: MOnument 2-3350 · New Yo

"Winning Democracy for the Negro Is Winning the War for Dem

Help Us Bury Jim-Crowism in the Same Grave with Hitler's Nazism, Hirohito's Militarism and Mussolini's Fascism!!

Petition to the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces,

Mr. President:

We, the undersigned citizens of the United States believe that in the interests of national unity and of effective defense, the victory of the United Nations over the Axis Powers and the cause of Democracy, Negro Americans must be assured of all their citizenship rights. We urge you to use the powers conferred upon you by Congress to put the following program-demands into effect:

(1) We demand the abrogation of every law and practice of the Government which makes a distinction in treatment of citizens based on religion, creed, color or national origin.

(2) We demand the abolition of segregation and discrimination in every branch of the armed forces and every department of the Government.

(3) We demand the abolition of the Poll Tax and the enforcement of the 14th and 15th Amendments guaranteeing the right to vote.

(4) We demand an end to discrimination in jobs and job training; and demand that the FEPC be made a permanent agency with more extensive power.

NAME	ADDRESS	CITY	STATE

Winning Democracy for the Negro Is Winning the War for Democracy

Please have this petition signed and return without delay

To

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS OF THE MARCH-ON-WASHINGTON MOVEMENT

2084 SEVENTH AVENUE THERESA HOTEL BUILDING NEW YORK, N. Y.

A. Philip Randolph, National Director

What Are Our Immediate Goals?

1. To mobilize five million Negroes into one militant mass for pressure.
2. To assemble in Chicago the last week in May, 1943, for the celebration of

"WE ARE AMERICANS – TOO" WEEK

And to ponder the question of Non-Violent Civil Disobedience and Non-Cooperation, and a Mass March On Washington.

literature

WHY SHOULD WE MARCH?

15,000 Negroes Assembled at St. Louis, Missouri
20,000 Negroes Assembled at Chicago, Illinois
23,500 Negroes Assembled at New York City
Millions of Negro Americans all Over This Great Land Claim the Right to be Free!

FREE FROM WANT!
FREE FROM FEAR!
FREE FROM JIM CROW!

"Winning Democracy for the Negro is Winning the War for Democracy!" — A. Philip Randolph

What Is The March On Washington Movement?

It is an all Negro Mass Organization to win the full benefits of democracy for the Negro people. It is pro-Negro but not anti-white nor anti-American.

What Has The Movement Done?

1. Won Executive Order No. 8802 from the President of the United States of America barring discrimination in war industries, government agencies and defense training because of race, creed, or national origin, the only such order issued since the Emancipation Proclamation.

2. Won the appointment of the Fair Employment Practices Committee to enforce this order.

3. Won thousands of jobs for Negroes in defense industries.

4. Brought together millions of Negroes in key cities all over the United States of America to protest against injustice and to demand redress of their grievances.

What Is Its Purpose?

1. To develop a disciplined and unified program of action for the masses of Negro people directed toward abolishing all social, economic and political discrimination.

2. To develop a strategy for non-violent struggle against jim crow and for the full integration of Negroes into every phase of American life.

3. To develop leadership from the mass of Negro people to struggle in their own behalf.

Who Can Belong?

Every Negro who believes in our purpose and who wants freedom so much that he is willing to struggle for his own liberation.

Where Can You Join?

There is a Branch of our Movement in your city. If there is not, you and your friends may start one by writing to the national office.

How Much Does It Cost?

The yearly membership fee is ten cents per person, five cents of which is to remain in your local treasury and five cents to be sent to the National office.

Who Are Its Officers?

A. Philip Randolph, National Director

B. F. McLaurin, National Secretary

E. Pauline Myers, National Executive Secretary

I enclose my membership fee in the Cause For Freedom—ten cents (10c).

Name .....

Address .....

City..... State.....

Mail to: E. Pauline Myers, March On Washington Movement, Hotel Theresa Building, 2084 Seventh Avenue, New York, N. Y.

The March On Washington Movement

Organizes the Negro People to make

THE

Fair Employment Practices Committee

A Permanent Post-War Agency

DO YOU WANT

TO HOLD your JOB when the WAR is over ?

To keep the RIGHT to fight discrimination in industry and in the goverment?

To protect your SENORITY?

Then protect this NATIONAL INSTITUTION which the MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT has made possible for you ! !

Unite your efforts to enact this Executive Order No. 8802 into FEDERAL LEGISLATION ! !

JOIN THE

Washington Local

M. O. W. M.

1628 9th Street, N. W.

W. Philip Randolph, National Director **Thurman L. Dodson, Local Director**

E. Pauline Myers, Executive Secretary

MoWM - Buffalo

Winning Democracy for the Negro, is Winning the War for Democracy.

Wake up Negro America, Protect your Right to work.

Demand the FEPC be Strengthened, Join the Parade of Dimes.

A Dime won't Buy You a Job, But 13,000,000 Dimes Will.

A-Show You're Organized.
B-Secure a $2,000,000 FEPC Appropriation.
C-Force FEPC to Crack Down on Employer.

Join now, 10c for Membership 1943, in the March on Washington Movement.

Name _____ 1940

Address _____

Mrs. L. Alexander Treas. 360 William St. O. H. Thomas Pres.

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA 267

This Pamphlet is Published by

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

for the

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

116 UNIVERSITY PLACE

NEW YORK, N. Y.

READ THE NEW PAMPHLET JUST OUT!

NEGROES AND THE U. S. ARMY

***By* EUGENE VARLIN**

A devastating expose of conditions under which the Negroes lived and died during the last war, and showing how the same conditions are being prepared for the colored workers in this new war!

To read it is to understand that there is only one road for all workers—colored and white—Joint action against our common enemy, the Boss Class!

NEGROES MARCH ON WASHINGTON

By Albert Parker

The NEGRO MARCH On WASHINGTON

By ALBERT PARKER

A committee of prominent Negroes, headed by A. Philip Randolph, President of the Brotherhood of Pullman Porters, is now engaged in furthering a march on Washington, which is scheduled to take place for July 1.

Ten thousand Negroes, it is planned, will join in the march, demanding an end to Jim Crowism and discrimination in the armed forces and industry.

Certainly, if ever there was a time for the Negro people to take action against Jim Crowism and discrimination, this is the hour.

Never before has the plight of the Negro stood out so sharply against the national scene, now loud with talk about democracy and the rights of minority groups—somewhere else. Not even in 1917, just before this country entered the first World War, was there such a contrast between the treatment of the Negro and the high and shining words used to describe the advantage of living under capitalist democracy.

And now, as in 1917, there are misleaders who say that this is not the time for action, that the Negro people should wait. "Wait," they say, "wait until later; don't take advantage of the crisis; let us show them how loyal we are, and they will treat us differently after the war is over."

But to do what these Uncle Toms urge would be to close our eyes to what happened last time. In 1917 the Negro people followed this advice, with tragic results. A larger proportion of Negroes than whites went into the army. They gave up their lives, they suffered insult and discrimination both in the American training camps and abroad in the A.E.F. And when it was all over, they were forced back into the same old Jim

Crow strait-jackets, Negroes who dared to continue wearing uniforms were lynched, and the Negro people did not have a single right or privilege in addition to those they had before the war.

Maybe the Negro misleaders can afford to wait, those who have soft jobs in the government, or are angling for them as a reward for their advice to sit and wait, or—that small top layer of Negroes—who live well.

The Negroes dare not wait. The condition of the average Negro worker is getting worse. Nobody has all the figures—no government agency is anxious to collect them—but everyone knows that Negroes just aren't getting jobs in any numbers or of any importance in the booming war industries.

The old saying, "last hired, first fired," applies as much as ever in the present expanding industrial picture. Most of the comparatively few jobs which Negroes are getting are the lower paid occupations abandoned by workers getting employment in the strategic industries. Those jobs Negroes do get in the big industries are limited to the menial categories. The heads of big corporations controlling airplane and similar production have openly stated they refuse to hire Negroes except as janitors and similar categories. Most of the other corporations, more discreet, say nothing, but follow the same policy.

Cost of Living Going Up Fast

This would be bad enough for the Negro at any time, but it is critically serious because of the economic background against which it is taking place.

The cost of living is going up. As a result of profiteering and curtailed production of consumers' goods, food, shelter and clothing cost more. The increased taxes to raise more money for the war machine hit the Negroes; before long these taxes will include sales taxes on everything workers use and income taxes on practically everyone working. All this is a heavy burden for the workers lucky enough to have half-way decent jobs. For the Negro people it is truly crushing.

Relief and WPA appropriations are being slashed. The argument that some workers have gotten jobs is being used to justify cuts in the individual relief allowances of those who aren't getting jobs. The argument that there is less unemployment is being used to justify discontinuance of most WPA

projects, although they employ the people who haven't been able to get jobs. Since Negroes were the group that suffered the most in the depression, and since they find it hardest to get jobs today, these reductions in relief and WPA hit them the hardest.

In addition to being denied work, Negroes are being denied the right to learn how to work at skilled and semi-skilled jobs. The usual argument of the officials in charge of the training schools is that there is no use in "wasting the training" when Negroes won't be able to get jobs afterward to utilize the training. To complete this picture, it should be remembered that one of the many alibis of employers who are put on the spot is that they can't find Negroes "qualified to handle skilled work."

In short, because the Negro is locked out of the war boom and because at the same time he is being forced to share the costs of the war program, his plight doesn't remain the same but grows constantly worse.

Military Jim Crowism

They won't take the Negro into the factories, but they take him into the armed forces. But not as an equal. He can die for democracy but he can't have it in life.

In the army, Negroes are separated off in segregated regiments. Roosevelt has said that it is in the interests of "national defense" that the Negro should be segregated this way; apparently he feels that a Jim Crow army can best carry on the kind of war for democracy that he wants.

Segregated regiments mean separate eating quarters, separate sleeping quarters, separate seats at the theaters; no Negro officer in command of white soldiers, practically no Negro officers in command of even Negro troops.

In the navy, the Negro is segregated too—into the kitchen. He can serve only as a mess attendant or cook or flunky. Regardless of his training or his inclinations, these are his only field of operations in the navy.

And if he objects, if he even writes a letter to the Negro press protesting the Jim Crow treatment he receives, as 15 sailors on the U.S.S. Philadelphia did a few months ago, then he is thrown into the brig and faces court martial and discharge "for the good of the service." This is what has already happened in peace time; in war time such a mild protest would

be called mutiny and would almost certainly be punished with execution.

Negroes long clamored for admission into the air corps; finally they got—a segregated all-Negro squadron. Negro doctors asked admission into the army; they were admitted—but limited to attend to Negro troops. Other branches of the services, such as the marines, coast guard, are still closed to the Negro. If the government should open them, it would be on the same Jim Crow basis as the others.

What Military Segregation Means

The Uncle Toms have their little piece to say about this too: "Why fret about this?" they ask. As F. D. Patterson of Tuskegee Institute put it:

"We are asking for a lot of things that are not of immediate importance though they aim at noteworthy ideals. One that is of apparent import to a lot of people is that we should be integrated in companies and regiments with white soldiers, claiming that the discrimination of the nation's soldiers on the grounds of color and race is a breach of democratic procedure. All that is admirable, but what we should be concerned with at the moment is an opportunity to serve in any capacity . . . "

Scoundrels like Patterson try to make it appear that full equality is a "noteworthy ideal," but certainly not "of immediate importance." This is where they do their most treacherous work. Because full equality in the armed forces is an *immediate* necessity if the lives and safety of the Negro soldiers are not to be thrown wantonly away!

Segregation in the army serves a double role. First, it serves to remind the Negro soldier at every moment that, although he is learning how to handle a gun, he is still regarded as a second class citizen and is still considered not good enough to mingle with white soldiers.

Secondly, it lays the basis for life-and-death discrimination against the Negro soldier. Negroes in separate regiments can more easily be assigned to dirty work or extremely dangerous work than they could be if they were with white soldiers in mixed regiments. It is much easier to pick out a Negro regiment as a "suicide squad" than to pick the same number of individual Negro soldiers out of several mixed regiments for the same job.

The story of the fall of France is full of cases where the

French general staff threw away the lives of the Negro colonial troops. They were thrown into the breach to die by the thousands when the general staff wanted to save the lives or the morale of white soldiers. There is no need to repeat the horrible details of that story here. It has been told just recently in the Negro press.

In short, unless the Negro wins full equality in the armed forces, his condition will not remain the same, but get worse.

Kind of Action That Failed

Since the present war crisis began, numerous attempts by Negro leaders have been made to secure an end to Jim Crowism in industry and the armed forces.

Postcards have been mailed. Telegrams have been sent. Petitions have been signed and delivered. Fine speeches, loud speeches, have been made. Conferences have been held, many of them. Committees have gone to Washington, where they have seen the President and they have seen the Congressmen. Congressional and state legislative investigations have been demanded. Bills abolishing discrimination in industry have been presented in Congress and passed by state legislatures. Orders have been issued by the heads of federal departments abolishing discrimination. The National Defense Council, under Knudsen, banned discrimination by employers executing government contracts. The Office of Production Management, through Hillman, has written a letter to all such employers urging the end of racial discrimination in hiring. Negro gentlemen, supposedly to protect the interests of the Negro masses, have been appointed to serve in advisory capacities in several governmental departments.

In spite of all this expenditure of time, energy, money and effort by protesting Negroes, and all the government gestures, nothing substantial has been accomplished. The Negro people suffer from Jim Crowism as much as they ever did.

Nor need any Negro be surprised that this is so. Requests for improvement in the status of the Negro have been overlooked or stalled or rejected because the ruling class and its representatives in Washington felt that they had nothing to fear and nothing to lose if they did not grant the requests.

Washington saw that the leaders of these Negro committees and conferences and organizations were willing to do most

of their fighting "around a table," were not trying to involve the masses of Negroes in action or struggle, and were promising in advance that, regardless of what happened, they would always be loyal to American democracy, including its continued Jim Crowism.

Since that was the case, the rulers of the country were neither afraid of the petitions and the speeches and the resolutions, nor ready to take any steps outside of vague promises and the appointment of more Negro "advisors" to act as a front for their Jim Crow agencies.

Randolph's Idea of the March

It is against this picture that we can best understand and evaluate A. Philip Randolph's recent series of articles in the Negro press, calling for a march on Washington of 10,000 Negroes to protest against Jim Crow conditions; the establishment of the "Negroes' Committee to March On Washington For Equal Participation In National Defense"; the "Call to Negro America" issued by this committee; and the march itself.

Crisis Deepening

That Randolph should write such a series of articles—which state substantially the facts we have outlined above—is an important sign of the depth of the crisis confronting the Negro people. In the last year Randolph has spent more time and energy speaking and writing in favor of all-out aid to Britain, than he has spent on anything else. If he now turns to devoting some time to advocating a march which by its very being constitutes an annihilating indictment of the democratic pretensions of the American imperialists, the rising tide of resentment among the Negroes must be high indeed!

Randolph has correctly described the national industrial and military situation:

> "The whole National Defense Set-up reeks and stinks with race prejudice, hatred and discrimination . . .
>
> "Responsible committees of Negroes who seek to intercede in behalf of the Negro being accorded the simple right to work in industries and on jobs serving National Defense and to serve in the Army, Navy and Air Corps, are given polite assurance

that Negroes will be given a fair deal. But it all ends. there. Nothing is actually done to stop discrimination.

"It seems to be apparent that even when well-meaning, responsible, top government officials agree upon a fair and favorable policy, there are loopholes, and subordinate officers in the Army, Navy and Air Corps, full of race hatred, who seek its contravention, nullification and evasion."

Randolph has had to recognize the impotence and weaknesses of the current Negro leadership and their methods, even though he has many words of praise for them:

"Evidently, the regular, normal and respectable method of conferences and petitions, while proper and ought to be continued as conditions warrant, certainly don't work. They don't do the job."

And, on the same theme, in another article:

"Negroes cannot stop discrimination in National Defense with conferences of leaders and the intelligentsia alone. While conferences have merit, they won't get desired results by themselves."

Randolph states the need for organization and action by the Negro masses:

"Power and pressure do not reside in the few, the intelligentsia, they lie in and flow from the masses. Power does not even rest with the masses as such. Power is the active principle of only the organized masses, the masses united for a definite purpose."

And then he calls for action in the form of a march of 10,000 Negroes to Washington:

"On to Washington, ten thousand black Americans! Let them swarm from every hamlet, village and town; from the highways and byways, out of the churches, lodges, homes, schools, mills, mines, factories and fields. Let them come in automobiles, buses, trains, trucks and on foot. Let them come though the winds blow and the rains beat against them, when the date is set. We shall not call upon our white friends to march with us. There are some things Negroes must do alone. This is our fight and we must see it through. If it costs money to finance a march on Washington, let Negroes pay for it. If any sacrifices are to be made for Negro rights in national defense, let Negroes make them. If Negroes fail this chance for work, for freedom and training, it may never come again. Let the Negro masses speak!"

Why We Support the March

The Socialist Workers Party, the Trotskyist movement in this country, was among the first to hail the progressive character of the proposal to march on Washington. We stated our position as follows:

"A militant march on Washington, the national capital of Jim Crowism, a march made up of thousands of Negroes who will be able to get there only because hundreds of thousands of others support the march morally and financially — this would really strike fear into the hearts of the administration and the bosses! It would really put a spoke in their wheel at the time they are shrieking about 'national unity' (at the expense of the workers) and taking the last steps prior to full entry into the war! It would give a real jolt to all the propaganda about a war 'for democracy,' put the issue of Jim Crowism on the high plane where it belongs and organize the forces for a finish fight for full social, economic and political equality!

"Correctly carried out demonstrations would also establish the Negroes as a force to be reckoned with by the conservative leaders of trade unions in the AFL, who are guilty of Jim Crow practices and could be used as a wedge for breaking down bars against Negro membership in those sections of the labor movement wherever they they still exist.

"Nor should it be forgotten that a correctly carried out struggle of this kind, even if *actively* supported at the start by only a minority of the Negro people, would be an inspiration and a source of new hope and courage to millions of other Negroes; would help to deepen and extend the local struggles of the Negroes throughout the North; and would undoubtedly serve to set off in the direction of organized struggle millions of Negroes in the South who are awaiting action from their brothers in other parts of the country, and who need only an inspiring example from the rest of the working class to set them into action on a wide scale at last.

It should be obvious from this that our support of a march on Washington does not depend on any of Randolph's ideas at all. We support a militant action, not Randolph's reasons for it. We do this in the same way that we would support a strike of the union of which Randolph is president, in spite of our sharp differences with Randolph on many basic questions.

That is to say, our support of the march, while full and wholehearted, is not uncritical. We feel it our duty, as part

of our fight for full social, economic and political equality for the Negroes, to indicate mistakes and shortcomings where we see them, and to urge Negro militants to correct them.

It is in this sense that we make our criticisms of the Committee organized to put Randolph's proposals into effect, its "Call to Negro America," and its general policy.

How the March Was Organized

Randolph says again and again in his articles: "Let the masses speak." But the masses had nothing to say about the composition of the Committee or its functions. This Committee has taken on itself the sole right of determining the slogans to be used and the work to be done in Washington.

A representative conference should have been called together before the final plans were adopted. At such a conference, representatives of different organizations that want to participate in the march could have worked out policy and strategy and elected a leading committee. This would have enabled participating organizations to help work out the policy, instead of putting them in a position, as Randolph has done, where they have only the choice of carrying out the Randolph Committee's decisions or just not participating. Such a conference would have increased not only the publicity for the march, but it would also have improved the morale of those participating. The Negro workers would then really have felt that this was *their* march; something that is not truly accomplished by the mere device of excluding white workers.

There Is Still Time

Nor can Randolph object that "there wasn't time for that; we'd have wasted valuable time." This is not true. There was plenty of time for it between the time Randolph first presented the proposal in January and the time the hand-picked Committee issued the call in May.

Furthermore, at the time this is written, during the first week in June, less than a month before the march is to take place, there is no evidence that the masses, even on the eastern seaboard, have yet been reached and aroused by the organizers of the march. Most workers haven't even heard about it.

It is to be hoped that, in spite of the slow beginning, the masses and especially the workers in the trade unions, will be

mobilized to support the march during the weeks that still remain. The Socialist Workers Party is doing what it can to influence advanced workers to participate in this action. But if the march fails because of lack of support from the workers, it will be directly attributable to the bureaucratic organization of the whole affair.

In spite of many militant words and phrases, the "Call To Negro America" suffers from the same half-heartedness that has characterized the other attempts by "respectable" Negro leaders to win concessions.

Certainly one of the key questions to be faced by any movement in the question of the war and the capitalist demand for "National Unity." The exploiters mean that the workers should stop asking for higher wages and better conditions until the war is over. For the Negroes "National Unity" means suspension of the fight for equal rights until after the war is over.

The Randolph Committee has no forthright answer to this question. Instead, it says:

"But what of national unity? We believes in national unity which recognizes equal opportunity of black and white citizens to jobs in national defense and the armed forces, and in all other institutions and endeavors in America. We condemn all dictatorships; Fascist, Nazi and Communist. We are loyal, patriotic Americans, all.

"But, if American democracy will not defend its defenders; if American democracy will not protect its protectors; if American democracy will not give jobs to its toilers because of race or color; if American democracy will not insure equality of opportunity, freedom and justice to its citizens, black and white, it is a hollow mockery and belies the principles for which it is supposed to stand."

Too Many Ifs

Why all those ifs? Don't the Committee's members know very well what is going on? Is there any real doubt in their minds as to exactly what is happening to the Negro? Hidden behind the ifs is a potential surrender of the fight for the rights of the Negro people. The bosses will think: "Never fear; this is only another bunch of people who are urging us to be good, but who are pledging their loyalty in advance."

Because the Committee is afraid to take an out-and-out position on this key question, it weakens the effectiveness of

the march. There can be only one correct answer to "National Unity": unity of the Negroes with the white worker against their common enemy and exploiter.

This is not the only instance of the Call for the march making concessions to the ideas looked on with favor by the ruling class. In another place it says:

"However we sternly counsel against violence and ill-considered and intemperate action and the abuse of power. Mass power, like physical, when misdirected, is more harmful than helpful.

"We summon you to mass action that is orderly and lawful, but aggressive and militant, for justice, equality and freedom.

"Crispus Attucks marched and died as a martyr for American independence. Nat Turner, Demark Vesy, Gabriel, Harriet Tubman and Frederick Douglass fought bled and died for the emancipation of Negro slaves and the preservation of American democracy."

Our criticism of this section of the Call should not be mistaken to mean that the Socialist Workers Party is in favor of "ill-considered and intemperate action" or anything of the kind. Not at all.

But who is served by this reassurance that everything is going to be nice and respectable and within the "lawful" bounds established by the ruling class and its anti-labor, Jim Crow legislatures and courts?

If we are going to talk about history, let us talk about it correctly. Did King George the Third think that Crispus Attucks' action was "lawful"? Did the slaveholders of Virginia think that Nat Turner was "orderly"?

The trouble is that the Randolph Committee members are too much concerned about what the powers that be may think about them. And as long as that is true, they lead a half-hearted fight, in spite of all their talk about agressiveness and militancy.

Considerations such as these may seem trivial on first glance, but they help to determine the character of the entire march, and those who want a successful and meaningful march must think about and correct them.

What Shall the Marchers Demand?

The central demand of the Committee is that Roosevelt issue an executive order abolishing discrimination in all gov-

ernment departments, the armed forces and on all jobs holding government contracts. This Roosevelt will be asked to do when he is asked to address the marchers. The local demonstrations are supposed to ask their city councils to memorialize the president to issue such an order.

To fully understand this proposal, one should read the article written by Randolph himself, explaining the theory behind this demand. Printed in the April 12th *Afro-American*, it began this way:

> **"President Roosevelt can issue an executive order tomorrow to abolish discrimination in the Army, Navy, Air Corps, Marine, and on all defense contracts awarded by the Federal Government, on account of race or color, *and discriminations against colored people would promptly end.*" (Our emphasis).**

If Randolph's statement means anything at all, it means that discrimination and segregation continue to exist in the government, the armed forces and in industry, only because the President hasn't issued an order abolishing discrimination and segregation.

Can Randolph really believe that? He must know that Jim Crowism does not depend for its existence on the lack of executive orders abolishing it. Jim Crowism exists because it serves the interests of the capitalist ruling class to keep the working class divided and split along racial lines.

We are ready to support the Randolph Committee's demand for President Roosevelt to issue an executive order abolishing discrimination. To force him to issue such an order would be a step forward in the struggle for abolition of racial discrimination. But only a step. Roosevelt's executive order would not be so very much more weighty than the laws and rulings and orders already on the books prohibiting discrimination. In spite of them, Jim Crow rides high.

Randolph should recall one of the statements he made when he first called for the march: "... even when ... top government officials agree upon a fair and favorable policy, there are loopholes, and subordinate officers in the Army, Navy, and Air Corps, full of race hatred, who seek its contravention, nullification, and evasion."

A Presidential Order Isn't Enough

How can Randolph square his January statement with

his statement in April that a presidential decree would "promptly" end discrimination?

He can't, and he doesn't try to. He ignores this very important point which means that he ignores the facts that touch the heart of the problem:

Industry is in the hands of an employer class which fosters and strengthens anti-Negro prejudices in order to be able to more easily exploit workers of all races.

Military training is in the hands of a hardened anti-labor and therefore anti-Negro bureaucratic military caste which is dedicated to the maintenance in military life of every form of racial discrimination that exists in civilian life.

The government is in the hands of a war-mongering administration that is notorious for its indifference to the needs and desires of the Negro people. The two big capitalist parties take turns when they are in power in kicking around legislation such as the anti-lynch bill and the poll tax bill.

In other words, far more important than the question of a presidential order which would merely echo other ignored laws and rulings, is the question of *control*.

An executive order abolishing discrimination would remain largely on paper, as long as control of industry, military training and the government remain in the hands of the enemies of the Negroes.

A movement that denies these facts or tries to ignore them cannot successfully lead the struggle for full equality. A movement that shuts its eyes or refuses to open them is good only for sleeping.

The Workers, Black and White, Must Control Their Own Destiny

Negroes must fight for more than a presidential executive order. They must fight for a program that will take control out of the hands of the enemies of the Negro people.

Employers controlling the war industries won't hire Negroes? Then have the government take those industries over, and let them be managed and operated without discrimination by committees elected by the workers!

Negroes need military training in this epoch when all major questions are decided arms in hand. But the army bureaucrats are bitterly anti-Negro and determined to "keep

them in their place." Therefore, Negroes must join the fight for military training, financed by the government but under control of the trade unions, based on full equality for the Negroes!

The government and the capitalist parties aid the bosses in segregating and discriminating against the Negro people, refusing to pass such elementary legislation as punishing lynching and granting the Negroes in the South the right to vote. Therefore aid in the formation of an independent labor party pledged to carry on the Negroes' struggles. An independent labor party pledged to establish a Workers' and Farmers' Government that would create a new society that would forever abolish poverty, war and racial discrimination!

Such a program, aimed at putting control of their destiny into the hands of the workers themselves, black and white—in military training, in industry, in politics—this *must* become the program of the militant Negro workers. This is the road to jobs and equality.

The Negro misleaders will say that this program is impractical and utopian. That is what Uncle Tom said about freedom for the slaves.

But the fighting program we propose is infinitely more realistic than expecting Roosevelt—the partner of the Southern Democrats, ally of the British Empire which oppresses Negroes on every continent—to abolish discrimination.

The Socialist Workers Party supports the march on Washington. We call on the Negro workers to bring forward in the march a really militant program. If this is done, the march on Washington, whatever its immediate results, would serve to be an important stage in the fight to change the world.

Akron Dist

Akron Unit
March On Washington Movement
Temporary Cabinet

Norman Cecil Gowens, ... President Unit Organization
Clarence S. Evans, ... Vice-President
Mrs. Mary Robinson, ... Secretary
George Price, Jr. ..... Treasurer
Eugene W. Robinson, ... Chairman of Executive Committee
James Johnson
Preston White } ..... Members of Executive Committee
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Norman Cecil Gowens, Director of Akron Unit

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Akron Unit

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Norman Cecil Gowens

Organizer and Director for Akron Unit and Ohio District

149 Halstead St., Apt. 2
Akron 11, Ohio

Stand Upon Your Rights
and Fight for

CALL TO NEGRO AMERICA

"To March on Washington for Jobs and Equal Participation in National Defense"
July 1st

●

GREETINGS:

We call upon you to fight for jobs in National Defense.

We call upon you to struggle for the integration of Negroes in the armed forces, such as the Air Corps, Navy, Army and Marine of the Nation.

We call upon you to demonstrate for the abolition of Jim-Crowism in all Government departments and defense employment.

This is an hour of crisis. It is a crisis of democracy. It is a crisis of minority groups. It is a crisis of Negro Americans.

What is this crisis?

To American Negroes, it is the denial of jobs in Government defense projects. It is racial discrimination in Government departments. It is wide-spread Jim-Crowism in the armed forces of the Nation.

While billions of the taxpayers' money are being spent for war weapons, Negro workers are being turned away from the gates of factories, mines and mills—being flatly told, "NOTHING DOING." Some employers refuse to give Negroes jobs when they are without "union cards," and some unions refuse Negro workers union cards when they are "without jobs."

What shall we do?

What a dilemma!

What a runaround!

What a disgrace!

What a blow below the belt!

Though dark, doubtful and discouraging, all is not lost, all is not hopeless. Though battered and bruised, we are not beaten, broken or bewildered.

Verily, the Negroes' deepest disappointments and direst defeats, their tragic trials and outrageous oppressions in these dreadful days of destruction and disaster to democracy and freedom, and the rights of minority peoples, and the dignity and independence of the human spirit, is the Negroes' greatest opportunity to rise to the highest heights of struggle for freedom and justice in Government, in industry, in labor unions, education, social service, religion and culture.

With faith and confidence of the Negro people in their own power for self-liberation, Negroes can break down the barriers of discrimination against employment in National Defense. Negroes can kill the deadly serpent of race hatred in the Army, Navy, Air and Marine Corps, and smash through and blast the Government, business and labor-union red tape to win the right to equal opportunity in vocational training and re-training in defense employment.

Most important and vital of all, Negroes, by the mobilization and coordination of their mass power, can cause PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT TO ISSUE AN EXECUTIVE ORDER ABOLISHING DISCRIMINATION IN ALL GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS, ARMY, NAVY, AIR CORPS AND NATIONAL DEFENSE JOBS.

Of course, the task is not easy. In very truth, it is big, tremendous and difficult.

It will cost money.

It will require sacrifice.

It will tax the Negroes' courage, determination and will to struggle. But we can, must and will triumph.

The Negroes' stake in national defense is big. It consists of jobs, thousands of jobs. It may represent millions, yes, hundreds of millions of dollars in wages. It consists of new industrial opportunities and hope. This is worth fighting for.

But to win our stakes, it will require an "all-out," bold and total effort and demonstration of colossal proportions.

Negroes can build a mammoth machine of mass action with a terrific and tremendous driving and striking power that can shatter and crush the evil fortress of race prejudice and hate, if they will only resolve to do so and never stop until victory comes.

Dear Fellow Negro Americans, be not dismayed in these terrible times. You possess power, great power. Our problem is to harness and hitch it up for action on the broadest, daring and most gigantic scale.

In this period of power politics, nothing counts but pressure, more pressure, and still more pressure, through the tactics and strategy of broad, organized aggressive mass action behind the vital and important issues of the Negro. To this end, we propose that ten thousand Negroes MARCH ON WASHINGTON FOR JOBS IN NATIONAL DEFENSE AND EQUAL

INTEGRATION IN THE FIGHTING FORCES OF THE UNITED STATES.

An "all-out" thundering march on Washington, ending in a monster and huge demonstration at Lincoln's Monument will shake up white America.

It will shake up official Washington.

It will give encouragement to our white friends to fight all the harder by our side, with us, for our righteous cause.

It will gain respect for the Negro people.

It will create a new sense of selfrespect among Negroes.

But what of national unity?

We believe in national unity which recognizes equal opportunity of black and white citizens to jobs in national defense and the armed forces, and in all other institutions and endeavors in America. We condemn all dictatorships, Fascist, Nazi and Communist. We are loyal, patriotic Americans, all.

But, if American democracy will not defend its defenders; if American democracy will not protect its protectors; if American democracy will not give jobs to its toilers because of race or color; if American democracy will not insure equality of opportunity, freedom and justice to its citizens, black and white, it is a hollow mockery and belies the principles for which it is supposed to stand.

To the hard, difficult and trying problem of securing equal participation in national defense, we summon all Negro Americans to march on Washington. We summon Negro Americans to form committees in various cities to recruit and register marchers and raise funds through the sale of buttons and other legitimate means for the expenses of marchers to Washington by buses, train, private automobiles, trucks and on foot.

We summon Negro Americans to stage marches on their City Halls and Councils in their respective cities and urge them to memorialize the President to issue an executive order to abolish discrimination in the Government and national defense.

However, we sternly counsel against violence and ill-considered and intemperate action and the abuse of power. Mass power, like physical power, when misdirected is more harmful than helpful.

We summon you to mass action that is orderly and lawful, but aggressive and militant, for justice, equality and freedom.

Crispus Attucks marched and died as a martyr for American independence. Nat Turner, Denmark Vesy Gabriel, Harriet Tubman and Frederick Douglas fought, bled and died for the emancipation of Negro slaves and the preservation of American democracy.

Abraham Lincoln, in times of grave emergency of the Civil War, issued the Proclamation of Emancipation for the freedom of Negro slaves and the preservation of American democracy.

Today, we call upon President Roosevelt, a great humanitarian and idealist, to follow in the footsteps of his noble and illustrious predecessor and take the second decisive step in this world and national emergency and free American Negro citizens of the stigma, humiliation and insult of discrimination and Jim-Crowism in Government departments and national defense.

The Federal Government cannot with clear conscience call upon private industry and labor unions to abolish discrimination based upon race and color as long as it practices discrimination itself against Negro Americans.

Remember, our valiant and heroic forbears won the right for Negroes to enjoy the priceless gifts of freedom, justice and equality in America today. They won it through tears, toil, sweat and blood. It is a challenge to us to follow the glorious traditions of our forbears and struggle to bequeath to the Negro children to today and tomorrow the right to participate in the economic, political and social institutions and life of America upon a basis of absolute equality, and thereby, make American democracy what its founders and defenders intended it to be.

NEGROES' COMMITTEE TO MARCH ON WASHINGTON FOR EQUAL PARTICIPATION IN NATIONAL DEFENSE

2289 Seventh Avenue
New York City

EDgecombe 4-4340

s/Walter White
Rev. William Lloyd Imes
Lester B. Granger
Frank B. Crosswaith
Layle Lane
Richard Parrish
Dr. Rayford Logan
Henry K. Craft
A. Philip Randolph
J. Finley Wilson
A. C. Powell, Jr.

Headquarters Chicago Committee March on Washington
5120 South Parkway

Chas. W. Burton, Director — Neva Ryan, Secretary
Telephone Oakland 6232

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A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, National Director, March on Washington Movement

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UNDER AUSPICES

MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT

CHARLES WESLEY BURTON, Director — THEODORE BROWN, Secretary — ERNEST SMITH, Treasurer

NEGRO AMERICANS

FIGHT FOR OUR RIGHT TO VOTE

Demand Enforcement Of The 14th Amendment

Senator Bilbo, November 12, 1943, stated in Congress....

"the passage of the anti-poll tax bill will not enable a single solitary Negro in Mississippi to vote."

Your Only Safeguard Is The 14th Amendment

"BUT WHEN THE RIGHT TO VOTE at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President, Representatives in Congress, the Executive and Judicial officers of a state, or the members of the Legislature thereof is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State ... the basis of representation therein shall be reduced".—U. S. Constitution.

STUDY THESE FIGURES

1940 Population		Citizens Over 21	Voters	Representatives In Congress
Mississippi	2,183,796	1,105,070	175,824	7
Minnesota	2,792,300	1,730,547	1,209,599	9
S. Carolina	1,899,804	989,841	99,830	6
Washington	1,736,191	1,122,725	793,833	6
Alabama	1,949,387	1,098,786	200,743	7
Connecticut	1,709,242	1,011,438	781,502	4
Georgia	3,123,723	1,764,969	312,539	10
[illegible]	3,137,587	1,841,665	1,401,522	10

Write These Facts to Your Congressman; To The Local, State, And National Officials of The Republican and Democratic Parties.

Join The March On Washington Movement - 2084 Seventh Ave.

Send Your "Right To Vote Contribution" — To:

ALDRICH TURNER, Treasurer, MOWM — 2084 Seventh Avenue

CATHERINE VAN BUREN

Now program throw away pamphlet

Lyric Soprano

PROGRAM

I.

Somme Dei (from "Radamisto") . . . *Handel-Bibb*

Bel Pia (from "Agrippina") . . . . *Handel-Bibb*

II.

Aria: L'Amero (from "Il Re Pastore") . . . *Mozart*

III.

An Chloe . . . . . *Mozart*

Stille Thraenen . . . . . *Schumann*

Auftraege . . . . . *Schumann*

INTERMISSION

IV.

Chere Nuit . . . . . *Bachelet*

Les Roses D'Ispahan . . . . . *Faure*

Depuis le jour (from "Louise") . . . . *Charpentier*

V.

The Nightingales at Lincoln's Inn . . . . *Oliver*

Life and Death . . . . . *Coleridge-Taylor*

Weepin' Mary . . . . . *Arr. by Burleigh*

New Born . . . . . *Arr. by Heilmann*

CATHERINE VAN BUREN
Lyric Soprano

Miss Van Buren is one of the foremost lyric sopranos of a race noted for its musical endowment and is one of the great sopranos of our time . . . . Gifted with the finest woman's voice to be trained in the Fisk University Choir whose men are represented by the tenor, Roland Hayes . . . Soloist with the Fisk Choir during her four years at the University, singing at concerts in Symphony Hall, Boston; Carnegie Hall, New York, and in other cities . . . Graduate of the Oberlin Conservatory of Music . . . Has been instructor on the faculties of the music departments of Shaw University, Raleigh, North Carolina, and Talladega College, Talladega, Alabama. Guest soloist annually for the Fisk Spring Musical Festivals and guest soloist for the Oberlin A Cappella Choir.

Petite and graceful in manner, Miss Van Buren has a rich melodic voice of exquisite beauty and rare tonal purity . . . Whether singing a difficult passage of a classical composition or a Negro spiritual, the ease of her rendering deceives the audience as to the high technical skill of her artistry . . . Throughout her music is a medium for the expression of feeling sincere and powerful which charms and enthralls.

COMMENTS FROM THE PRESS

Bershire Evening Eagle, September 21, 1938.

Singing a program which made all the demands that only an accomplished singer dare attempt, she revealed a voice remarkable in many ways, but none more to be remembered than its lovely texture. Emerging without effort, and of equally wholesome timbre in the high tones as well as in the low ones, and going to one register from another without demarcation, her voice, of moderate but ample power, made each of the songs she chose a thing of beauty.

The Saginaw News, January 30, 1939.

When Catherine Van Buren, young Negro lyric soprano, reached the close of her program at Central State Teachers College auditorium last night, after being called back repeatedly for encores, there was not a single person in her audience to dispute her recognition as one of the foremost soprano singers in her race.

The ease with which Miss Van Buren sang was a pleasure to listeners. The combination of her excellent voice, youth and graceful manner won the entire audience. She was attired attractively in a pale yellow gown with a single flower at the shoulder.

Probably the most enthusiastically received of her numbers was "Polonnaise" from "Mignon" in which she displayed masterly ability to handle difficult passages with seeming ease. Miss Van Buren was a welcome contrast to previous vocal soloists to whom Mt. Pleasant residents have listened.

The Daily Journal, International Falls, Minnesota.

Miss Van Buren's charming delivery, fullness of tone and range of ability confirmed strikingly for residents of the border region her already established reputation as one of the nation's foremost lyric sopranos.
. . . . her delivery maintained a uniform degree of high excellence seldom achieved on the concert stage.

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National March On Washington Movement

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From Aug. 1, 1943 to July 31, 1944

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PLEDGE

I support and endorse the fight of the United Nations to wipe out the Axis menace.

I endorse the policy of a mixed army and consider it a negatio of democracy to segregate soldiers who are fighting the same foe for the same cause.

I will work for Negro representation at the Peace Conference to negotiate world-wide peace.

I support a non-violent but direct struggle by the Negro people to abolish segregation now and agree to "March" when authorized by the National Executive Committee.

I am not anti-white but I believe that Negroes should initiate the campaign to win their unconditional equality of status for themselves.

I will work for a Free Africa and a Free Caribbean.

MOWM
NY - LA

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" "

JAMES FARMER —— Race Relation Secretary,
Fellowship of Reconciliation

GERTRUDE WEIL KLEIN - - - Member, of New York Council

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
NATIONAL DIRECTOR
OF
MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT

Under Auspices
of
March on Washington Movement
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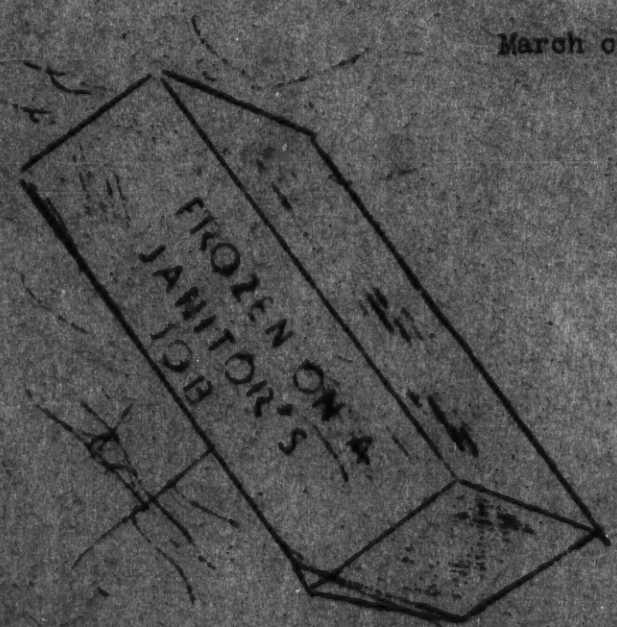
New York City



NOWA Protests

ACTION LETTER

DO WE WANT CONSCRIPT LABOR

VIA, SENATE BILL 666 & HOUSE BILL 1742

? ? ?

—:—

DO YOU KNOW THAT

Senator Austin of Vermont and Representative Wadsworth of New York State have introduced in Congress identical bills calling for conscript labor for private industry, i.e., factories, railroads, plantations?

DO YOU KNOW THAT

This proposed conscription includes women?

DO YOU KNOW THAT

The involuntary moving of whole families is included in this program?

DO YOU KNOW THAT

1. "Suitable housing" under this bill will be determined by local standards?
2. "Wages and hours" under this bill will be determined by local standards?
3. This bill affords no government control or protection on the job?

WE ARE 100% BEHIND ANY EMERGENCY MEASURE THAT APPLIES EQUALLY TO ALL RACES AND CREEDS, TO EMPLOYER AND EMPLOYEE. SENATE 666 IS NOT SUCH A MEASURE. IT DIRECTS THE BURDEN OF THE WAR EFFORT TO THE EMPLOYEE, ITS BENEFITS TO THE EMPLOYER.

DO YOU WANT THIS BILL TO PASS? IF NOT — ACT NOW!

These are the members of the Senate Military Affairs Committee now conducting hearings on the Austin-Wadsworth Bill, S. 666 - National War Service Act of 1943.

WIRE THESE MEN AND WIRE OR WRITE YOUR OWN CONGRESSMAN!

(Democrats)	(Republicans)
Robert R. Reynolds, (Chairman), N. C.	Warren R. Austin, Vermont
Elbert D. Thomas, Utah	Styles Bridges, New Hampshire
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Lister Hill, Alabama	Rufus C. Holman, Oregon
Sheridan Downey, California	John Thomas, Idaho
Albert B. Chandler, Kentucky	Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., Massachusetts
Harry S. Truman, Missouri	
Mon C. Walgren, Washington	
Harley M. Kilgore, West Virginia	
James E. Murray, Montana	

For further information address:
NATIONAL NON-PARTISAN COUNCIL ON PUBLIC AFFAIRS of ALPHA KAPPA ALPHA SORORITY
961 Florida Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
National Director

B. F. McLAURIN
National Secretary

ALDRICH TURNER
National Treasurer

BEATRICE E. PARRISH
Acting Executive Secretary

MARCH-ON-WASHINGTON MOVEMENT

2084 Seventh Avenue New York City, N. Y.
MOnument 2-3350

Enclosed please find $1.00 for membership to the MARCH-ON-WASHINGTON MOVEMENT — Also I hereby contribute

$..... ($1) ($5) ($10) ($25)

or Pledge $..... for the $100,000 Fund

440

Literature

STRAIGHTEN UP— AND COME RIGHT TO THE MARCH-ON-WASHINGTON MOVEMENT!!

NWM Nat'l Office Corresp + Material

FELLOW MARCHERS:

That burden is kinda heavy if you try to carry it alone—but if we all get together it will be a whole lot easier—

Why not come on and join the MARCH-ON-WASHHINGTON MOVEMENT. You know what we're fighting for:

(1) To Make Permanent F. E. P. C.
(And Brother if you think you've had it tough—wait until after the war—)

(2) Continue The Winfred Lynn Case
(Which challenges Jim Crow in uniform NOW! Not AFTER the war)

(3) Campaign for jobs in METROPOLITAN LIFE INSURANCE CO.

Place Demands: Premiums paid to METROPOLITAN LIFE INS. CO. as far back as 1937 totalled:

$37,348,020.90—Jobs held by Negroes: NONE

(4) Federal aid to education with federal standards and federal supervision.

(5) Enforcement of the 14th and 15th amendments through enabling legislation.

(6) Negro representation and participation in the peace conference before and after the war.

(7) A National Commission on Race.

In order to really push this program—one part of our plan is the raising of a $100,000 Fund for organization and propaganda.

Therefore in addition to your membership fee of $1.00 Per Year —which we hope will be forthcoming with this leaflet—we are asking —$25.00—$10.00—$5.00 and $1.00 our contributions to help accomplish these worthy goals.

WITHOUT YOUR HELP OUR ORGANIZATION CAN'T GO FORWARD — WITH IT WE CAN'T BE STOPPED.

Let's cooperate on the HOME FRONT by doing your share —

So that the boys over there — Will be "SOMEWHERE"

When they get back, OVER HERE!!

"WINNING DEMOCRACY

FOR THE NEGRO

IS WINNING THE WAR

FOR DEMOCRACY"

MOW Chicago

CALLING ALL NEGROES OF CHICAGO

TO STORM

THE COLISEUM

FRIDAY, JUNE 26TH, 7 P.M.

IN AN ALL OUT DEMONSTRATION OF NEGRO POWER AGAINST THE GOVERNMENTS JIM-CROW POLICY OF DISCRIMINATION IN THE ARMED FORCES AND DEFENSE INDUSTRIES.

SEE STIRRING PLAYLET ON NEGRO RIGHTS
BY DICK CAMPBELL

LET'S STOP HITLERIN EUROPE AND HITLERISM IN AMERICA

REMEMBER BLACK-OUT FROM 9 to 9:15 JUNE 26th

Speakers

CHARLES WESLY BURTON, CHAIRMAN
WALTER WHITE
MILTON P. WEBSTER
(Include one Baptist and one
Methodist minister for 3 minutes talks)
(Have Dr. Kingsley offer invocation)
(Get Presbyterian or Episcopalian minister
to give benediction)
(Have presidents of medical and bar associations
for three minute talks. Put their names on this ad.
JOHN O. HOLLY, Future Outlook League
(Put down women speakers)
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

"Winning Democracy for the Negro Is Winning the
War for Democracy"

WE MUST FIGHT NOW TO KILL AND BURY JIM-CROW IN THE SAME GRAVE
WITH HITLER'S NAZISM, MUSSOLINI'S FASCISM, AND HIROHITO'S
MILITARISM

I T ' S N O W O R N E V E R

Fight for the Right to Live, Work, and Be Free

Dr. Chas. Wesley Burton Chr. Theodore Brown, Sec'y Ernest Smith Treas.

Sponsored by the City-Wide Committee-- Initiated by the March On Washington Committee
Headquarters: Y. W. C. A., 4559 South Parkway Phone ATl. 1434

On to The Coliseum June 26-7 P.M.

MOW.
N.Y. Par

Ladies and Gentlemen:

We are living in a period of crisis? Everything we hold dear is being threatened by the ruthless Axis powers which have declared war against us.

Negroes want to do their share in the great battle. We stand ready to make every sacrifice for our Country and for our Freedom. But we want to fight and sacrifice as the equals of our fellow-men - equals in our Army - equals in Our Navy, our Air Force, Our Marines. We want to work as equals in America's defense industries, as equals in the administrative offices of our City, State and National governments.

Fifty Thousand Negroes will join in an all-out protest against Race discrimination at Madison Square Garden on Tuesday, June sixteenth. Join them. Add your voice to the swelling demand for equal rights for all our citizens, regardless of Race or Color or Religious belief.

Prominent speakers and famous stars of the stage and screen will deliver inspiring messages.

This is your cause. Be at Madison Square Garden on June sixteenth

Matter which is used in the movie talkie

I WILL JOIN IN THE PICKETING OF THE METROPOLITAN LIFE INSURANCE CO.

March-on-Washington Movement
Hotel Theresa Building
2084 Seventh Avenue New York

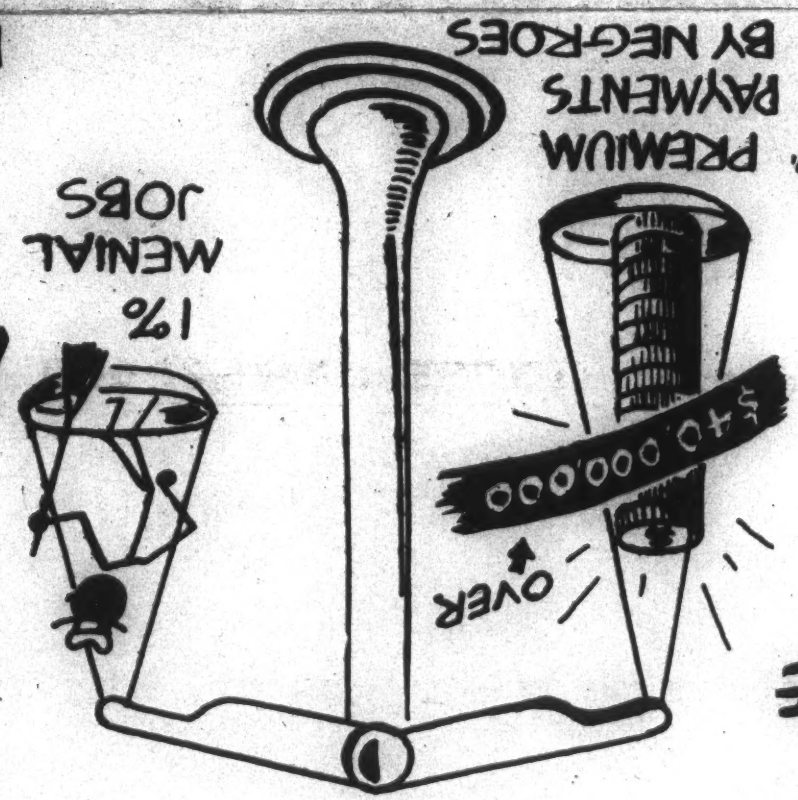
(PLEASE PUT A (✓) NEXT TO DAY AND HOUR)

Name _____

Address _____

I WILL BE ABLE TO PICKET ON:

Mon. _____	10 A.M.	Sat.	10 A.M.
Tues. _____	11 A.M.		11 A.M.
Wed. _____	12 A.M.		12 P.M.
Thurs. _____	1 P.M.		
Fri. _____	2 P.M		



2½ MILLION NEGRO POLICY HOLDERS CAN MAKE THEIR DEMANDS HEARD!

1- DEMAND A VOICE IN THE MANAGEMENT OF COMPANY.

2- DEMAND EMPLOYMENT OF NEGROES IN ALL JOB CATEGORIES.

3- DEMAND ABOLITION OF DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING PROJECTS.

ARE YOU ONE OF THE METROPOLITAN'S STEP-CHILDREN ???

OVER

Calling All Negroes!!!! To Build and Attend a National Non-Partisan Political Conference

To Be Held at Metropolitan Community Church All Day June 26
A Mammoth Mass Meeting at Pilgrim Baptist Church
Sunday, June 25 at 3 P.M.

A City-Wide Planning Committee Now Being Organized to Put the Job Over.
Promotion Meetings Every Thursday, 8 to 10 P.M., at Metropolitan Church.

All Negro Organizations and Individuals Who Will Fight For Freedom Are Urged to Participate.

CONFERENCE OBJECTIVES:

1. Abolition of Jim-Crow in the Armed Forces
2. Enforcement of the 14th and 15th Amendments
3. Legislation for a Permanent Committee on Fair Employment Practice
4. Negro Representation at the Peace Conference
5. Legislation for a National Commission on Race

Initiated by: MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT

Local Headquarters: 4304 South Parkway **Tel. Atlantic 8367**

A. Philip Randolph, National Director — Charles Wesley Burton, Regional Director

337

MOWM
St Louis Div.

MASS MEETING

Sponsored by

MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT

October 27th - 8 P. M.

Washington Tabernacle Baptist Church

T. D. McNeal, Director, Saint Louis Unit

A. Philip Randolph, National Director

MASS MEETING

Sponsored by

MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT

October 27th - 8 P.M.

Washington Tabernacle Baptist Church

T. D. McNeal, Director, Saint Louis Unit

A. Philip Randolph, National Director

P R O G R A M

T. D. McNeal, Director - - - Chairman

"Star Spangled Banner" - - - Legend Singers
Kenneth Billups - Director
James Bracy - Acting Director

Invocation - - - - Rev. J. E. Nance
Pastor, Washington Tabernacle Bapt. Church

Selection - - - Legend Singers
James Bracy - Acting Director

Address - - - - David M. Grant
Chairman Complaints Committee; Member,
National Executive Committee. - M. O. W.

Offertory - - - -Rev. J. E. Nance

Selection - - - Legend Singers
James Bracy - Acting Director.

"Position of M. O. W. on Department Store
Cafeterias - - - Chairman

"Robert Brooks' Body" - - - Audience
(See Back of Program for words)

ADDRESS - - - - A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
National Director, M. O. W.
International President - Brotherhood of
Sleeping Car Porters

ROBERT BROOKS' BODY
(Tune: John Brown's Body)

1.

ROBERT BROOKS body lies a-moulding in the grave
ROBERT BROOKS body lies a-moulding in the grave
ROBERT BROOKS body lies a-moulding in the grave
But WE go marching on.

CHORUS

Glory, Glory, Hallelujah
Glory, Glory, Hallelujah
Glory, Glory, Hallelujah
But WE go MARCHING ON

Black men want their freedom in this 'democratic' world.
Black men want their freedom in this 'democratic' world.
Black men want their freedom, and their battle flag unfurled,
As we go MARCHING ON.

3.

RANDOLPH is our leader and we'll FIGHT until the end
RANDOLPH is our leader and we'll FIGHT until the end
RANDOLPH is our leader and we know we're going to win
As we go MARCHING ON.

WHY THE NAME "MARCH ON WASHINGTON"?

In the spring of 1941, when defense plants (now war plants) mushroomed over the country and refused to hire Negroes, A. Phillip Randolph and other Negro leaders, called for 200,000 Negroes, the country over. to join in a physical march on Washington to protest this exclusion policy in employment. The march was set for July 4, 1941, and immediately attracted nation-wide attention and support from Negroes. Government officials became aroused and fearful of such a public demonstration of just resentment, being committed as they were to the support of those nations who were fighting for freedom and equality of all people. A conference was held between the proponents of the March and government officials, resulting in the issuance of Executive Order 8802 by President Roosevelt barring discrimination in war industries and the government because of "race, creed, color or national origin." Following this order the actual March was **POSTPONED.**

Later the Fair Employment Practices Committee was established to enforce the executive order.

When it became apparent that employers, generally, intended to ignore the mandate of the order, and that the Fair Employment Practices Committee was handicapped by a small staff and lack of funds, the Negro leaders again became concerned and reaffirmed their determination to actually march unless conditions were speedily corrected.

This was months **BEFORE** Pearl Harbor.

Wide publicity had been given in the Negro press and elsewhere to the threat to **MARCH ON WASHINGTON.** After subsequent events proved that the Presidential Order 8802 was to be ignored and not complied with, the need for a new Negro pressure group on a nation wide scale and employing tactics of public demonstrations and different techniques of mass Negro power became apparent. Since wide publicity had been given to the threatened March on Washington, it was believed to be advisable to retain the benefits thus derived, and the name **"MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT"** was adopted.

The actual March is still merely **POSTPONED!**

★ ★ ★

The Movement believes in President Roosevelt's Four Freedoms — these Freedoms include:—

FREEDOM FROM WANT
FREEDOM FROM FEAR

The Negro people have had precious little of these two Freedoms in their native land. If we must die for these Freedoms, let us at least enjoy them at home.

★ ★ ★

This pamphlet is prepared and issued by the

MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT ST. LOUIS UNIT

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
National Director

T. D. McNEAL
Local Director

NITA BLACKWELL
Local Secretary

HAROLD W. ROSS
Chairman Financial Drive

MARIE PACE
Secretary

DAVID M. GRANT
Chairman Special Gifts

CHARLES KENNEDY and EUGENE WOOD
Co-chairmen Solicitations Committee

HARRY BALL and LEYTON WESTON
Co-chairmen Organization Committee

WILLIAM SMITH and B. T. WASHINGTON
Co-chairmen War Plants Committee

"Winning Democracy for the Negro Is Winning the War for Democracy"

MOWM
St. Louis - L.P.

NEGRO CITIZEN - - -

IF YOU BELIEVE IN

FREEDOM FROM WANT
FREEDOM FROM FEAR
JUSTICE and EQUALITY
AND
DEMOCRACY
FOR ALL AMERICANS

AND IF YOU ARE WILLING TO

FIGHT

SACRIFICE

& PAY

FOR THESE RIGHTS . . . THEN

THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT

DESERVES YOUR SUPPORT ! !

HAVE YOU FORGOTTEN - - - ?

June 20, 1942, when a handful (approximately 300) of sincere, determined, militant Negro citizens marched in the hot sun on the Small Arms Plant operated by the U. S. Cartridge Company, to protest their refusal to hire Negroes except as porters and janitors, and to hire no Negro women at all!

At that time over 23,000 people were employed there, including over 8,000 white women. On the payroll then, were a mere 300 Negro porters and menials.

Four days following the march, 100 Negro women were hired, and shortly thereafter, the company's training school for production workers was opened to Negro trainees. **ACTION FOLLOWED BY IMMEDIATE RESULTS!**

Today, at Small Arms alone, there are upwards of 1700 Negro workers employed at an average weekly salary of $30.00, a total weekly income of $51,000 or two million six hundred fifty-two thousand ($2,652,000) dollars per year of new revenue flowing into the pockets of St. Louis Negroes because of the militant program and action of the **MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT.**

DO YOU KNOW THAT - - - ?

Employment reports from Washington show that over 8000 Negroes have been employed in war industries in the St. Louis area alone since the **MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT** became active here, yielding a total annual income of twelve million four hundred eighty thousand ($12,480,000) dollars, and **BROTHER, THAT IS MONEY YOU CAN COUNT!** But, even this achievement, merely scratches the surface, and has cost the Movement less than $3500.

WHAT HAVE YOU DONE TO HELP THIS CAUSE?

The movement has been financed by the voluntary contributions of a small number of interested **Negro** citizens, it has no paid officers or staff. But the effort has won for the Negro people in St. Louis a changed attitude on the part of war plant management together with a new respect throughout the community for the militant determination of the Negro to be "kicked around" no longer.

As you read this, do you swell with pride because you, too, helped? Or does your conscience prick because you failed, neglected, or postponed assistance?

We believe you approve the above program; that you want to help and that you will - - - -

YOUR HELP IS NEEDED NOW ! !

Because our plans call for an immediate attack upon the public utilities serving St. Louis who take annually, from Negro consumers, millions upon millions of dollars in charges for services and goods and who return to these consumers a mere beggar's mite in wages for employment. And this meager employment, generally, is of the dirtiest grade and lowest pay. We refer to the telephone, gas, light and street car companies.

In addition to this, the fight for more and better jobs in war plants must remain relentless and insistent. We must continue to agitate, propagandise, expose, complain and **MARCH!**

This program is impossible without your active support, cooperation and financial aid.

WHAT YOU CAN DO !

I.

Send a substantial contribution to the March on Washington Office, Room 412 Peoples Finance Building, 11 N. Jefferson Ave.; give it to any authorized solicitor who approaches you or call FRanklin 0033 and a collector will be sent.

GIVE ENOUGH TO SATISFY YOUR CONSCIENCE

II.

Write letters **NOW** to the telephone and street car companies advising them that the **MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT** has your full support in fighting for jobs for Negroes in all departments of their employ.

III.

Join our public marches, when announced by press, phone or circular.

★ ★ ★

To fail now is to surrender for years to come, the possibility of winning your fight for rights that belong to you and have been yours, although unrealized, since U. S. history began.

THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT IS CONFIDENT THAT THE NEGRO CITIZEN WILL NOT FAIL OR IGNORE HIS OWN JUST CAUSE IN THIS CRITICAL HOUR !

MOWM
Non Partisan
Conf

"WINNING DEMOCRACY FOR THE NEGRO IS WINNING THE WAR FOR DEMOCRACY"

Chicago .....

To the City-Wide Citizens Committee

For the Non Partisan Political Conference

Chicago, June 25 and 26.

This is to certify that the bearer

(Name) _____

(Address) _____

Has been appointed as Representative on the above-named Citizens Committee.

(Signed) _____
President

(Organization) _____

(Address) _____

(Telephone) _____

Lynn Case

THF LYNN CASE

A Fighting Challenge to Jim Crow in Uniform!

MILITARY JIMCROW IS ILLEGAL

Do you know that the 1940 Draft Act, under which the present armies of this country are raised and trained, specifically outlaws the present policies of the military authorities?

Section 4 (a) of this Act reads as follows:

> In the selection and training of men under this Act, and in the interpretation and execution of the provision of this Act, there shall be no discrimination against any person on account of race or color.

There is the law. It is a law passed by the Congress of the United States, and signed by the President of the United States. It is also a law which is daily, hourly violated on a wide scale in the U.S. armed forces. Not a word of condemnation has come from President Roosevelt, although, as Commander in Chief of the entire military establishment, he bears a double responsibility for seeing that the law is enforced and that democratic practices prevail in our country's armies.

There is the law. Negro America—what are you going to do about it?

ONE MAN "DOES SOMETHING ABOUT IT"

A young Negro resident of Jamaica, Long Island, is now fighting a test case on Section 4 (a) of the Draft Act. His name is Winfred Lynn, and he is at present training in a Southern camp. He has brought a 'habeas corpus' action against the Army authorities on the grounds that they are illegally detaining him because he was selected—like most Negro draftees—in a segregated, jimcrow quota. Winfred Lynn has a strong legal case, and if he wins his fight it will force the army authorities to make drastic changes in the present way of treating Negro soldiers.

WHAT CAN YOU DO ABOUT IT?

The legal end of the Lynn Case is in the capable hands of the well known Negro lawyer, Albert C. Gilbert, working with the famous Civil Liberties counsel, Arthur Garfield Hays. The American Civil Liberties Union has officially adopted the case as one of its current activities.

But this legal fight must be supplemented by a great popular campaign to line up progressive public opinion behind the Lynn Case, so as to make sure the Supreme Court considers it fully and fairly. The March On Washington Movement is now at work organizing such a campaign. YOU can help us in two ways:

> 1—Buy the special pamphlet recently published by The March On Washington Movement: "The War's Greatest Scandal—The Story of Jim Crow in Uniform", contains the full story of the Lynn Case and also complete factual data on the treatment of Negroes in the armed forces. 5c a single copy—3c a copy in quantities of 100 or over.
>
> 2—Join the March On Washington Movement and work with us on the Lynn case, the struggle to abolish discrimination in all fields, the fight against the Poll Tax, that FEPC be established as a permanent part of the machinery of our National Government, and other great issues affecting the colored people of America. Fill out the blank below. It costs only 10 cents a year to join the fighting vanguard of Negro America.

MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue, New York City

I am interested in your work, and want to do my part. Please enroll me as a member. Enclosed is 10c. for one year's dues.

Name_____ Address_____

CHAPTER ONE

THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT AND HOW IT CAME INTO BEING

The March On Washington Movement is an organization for mass pressure. Its basic core is an organized, discplined, and consecrated group of American Negroes who have dedicated themselves to work together for full and unconditional equality of status for Negro and white peoples. This core is willing to assume the vanguard in leading Negroes, here in America, to utilize their constitutional rights to struggle in mass and without violence for their complete liberation from jim-crow laws and discriminatory practices.

The movement originated out of the protests, grievances, and injustices that beset the Negro people and their mass cry for deliverance. It grew out of a projected March of Negroes on the Nation's capitol to demand an executive order to end discrimination in the armed forces, in the government, and in national defense industries. This March was organized by A. Philip Randolph, International President, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, whose belief was that nothing short of organized and dramatic mass protest and pressure could place the cause of the Negro in the mainstream of public opinion.

This call was issued in February, 1941 and resounded all over the United States. Negroes responded from every walk of life. Committee after committee sought conferences with the President requesting him to speak out on the Negro question. Factory door after factory door opened and closed in the face of the black worker while employment offices scornfully said, "No black labor wanted." The Negro wanted to participate in the war effort, but the country had no need for either his brain or his brawn. The momentum of the March increased as thousands rallied to the cause of their own freedom. The threat shocked the very conscience of America.

President Roosevelt in June, 1941 called A. Philip Randolph and Walter White to discuss the idea of the March. Randolph and White carried with them to this conference Frank R. Crosswaith and Layle Lane, of New York City. The President sought desperately to persuade the Committee to call off the March. He stated that the times were dangerous for a march and that the conference method rather than the mass pressure method was the American way for dealing with minority problems. The Committee would not be deterred. Seeing that the President was inclined to admit that the demands were just, Randolph demanded an Executive Order.

The President, having found it futile to postpone action any longer, called in his advisors and went into Executive session. He finally presented the Committee with a draft, Executive Order No. 8802, which reads as follows:

"... I do hereby reaffirm the policy of the United States that there shall be no discrimination in the employment of workers in defense industries or Government because of race, creed, color, or national origin and I do hereby declare that it is the duty of employers and of labor organizations, in furtherance of said policy and of this order, to provide for the full and equitable participation of all workers in defense industries, without discrimination because of race, creed, color, or national origin ..."

Franklin D. Roosevelt

After obtaining the Executive Order, there was no immediate justification for the March, so Randolph postponed the March. The effect of this Order was the creation of the Fair Employment Practices Committee composed of seven consultants, two of whom were Negroes. This was and is the only policy-making committee on which Negroes sat anywhere in the Government. It served to rekindle the faith of the people in their government. They thought the Administration was actually sincere in its desire for justice toward Negroes. The Order was hailed as the second Emancipation Proclamation.

A series of mass meetings and conferences to celebrate the Executive Order and the resolutions growing out of them indicated that the Negro masses were growing tired of the philosophy of gradualism. The old instrumentalities of one and two-man committees, Black Cabinets, et cetera, had betrayed rather than befriended them. Old-line organizations were fulfilling a useful purpose but were obviously inadequate for the revolutionary task confronting the Negro people.

As long as Negroes were content with paper schemes, charity grants, and handouts—a few petty jobs and privileged appointments—liberal whites were boastful of their good intentions for Negro advancement. But a new Negro arose:

"out of the ratholes of kitchenette tenements
and the crowded wretchedness of ghettoes and slums;

out of the degradation of relief and insecurity;
and short term public employment;

out of the nagging frustration of jim-crow laws and customs;

out of the disillusionment of anti-poll tax, filibuster,
and crucifixion by lynch mobs and night riders;

out of the disappointment in government and public officials
to take a forthright position on the race question,
this new Negro arose embittered at the pretense of democracy.

This Negro scorned charity and demanded justice and equality. He scorned the old compromisers and demanded a dynamic and militant leadership. He would be satisfied with nothing less than the unconditional surrender of jim-crow in this republic.

Before the resolute tread of this new and aggressive leadership the old liberals fell back in fear—a few of them finding refuge in the time-honored organizations.

New and revolutionary organization was inevitable to incarnate the spirit and the will of the new Negro. It was apparent that this organization must become a movement of, for, and by the masses with an action program, aggressive, bold, and challenging in spirit, and with policies initiated and controlled by Negroes themselves.

A conference to map out policies and procedures that such a movement might take was called by Randolph in Detroit September 26 and 27, 1942. This conference set up twelve generalizations to serve as guiding principles for the Movement and laid plans for the calling of a National Conference to effect a permanent organization.

A. Philip Randolph was designated temporary National Director and he appointed to assist him B. F. McLaurin, of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, National Secretary, and Aldrich Turner of New York, National Treasurer. On January 2, 1943, E. Pauline Myers of the Young Women's Christian Association of Richmond, Virginia, was called as Executive Secretary.

Interested men and women scattered in far places all over the United States gathered together in little groups to prepare for the national conference and to map a program for action. The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters gave unstintingly of their resources to help finance and carry forward plans for the Chicago conference. Other individual Negroes, believing in the purpose, gave generous contributions. It was on July 3, 1943 at the "We Are Americans, Too" Conference that the March On Washington Movement was established.

A National Executive Committee consisting of eighteen persons was elected as follows:

North Atlantic Region
Thurman L. Dodson
Layle Lane
Jesse Taylor

South Atlantic Region
Senora B. Lawson
Samuel Harper
A. L. Thomas

Southern Region
David M. Grant
Davie Della Phillips
E. Vincent Suitt

Midwestern Region
Charles Wesley Burton
Bennie Smith
Theodore E. Brown

Pacific Region
C. L. Dellums
Armenia Davis
Wendell T. Liggins

Members-at-Large
Lawrence M. Ervin
Leyton Weston
James E. Burns

The following were elected officers: A. Philip Randolph, National Diretcor; B. F. McLaurin, National Secretary, Aldrich Turner, National Treasurer. E. Pauline Myers was appointed National Executive Secretary.

CHAPTER TWO

MEMBERSHIP

"Any Negro desiring to become a member of this organization, who believes in and subscribes to the ideas and ideals of the Movement shall be considered a member upon payment of one ($1.00) dollar, which sum shall represent also the annual dues for the first year."

Constitution, adopted July 3, 1943

Membership in the March On Washington Movement is exclusively Negro. The question then is why? The MOWM is neither anti-white nor black nationalist. Basically it believes that the fundamental problem is not one of race but one of economics.

With the dawn of imperialism, colonization, and the struggle to control the markets, it has been both profitable and necessary to propagandize the myth of race, and its subsequent belief in the biological superiority of certain races. So effective has been this propaganda for purposes of exploitation that Negroes themselves have come to take inferiority for granted and accept in their own minds the concept of the superiority of the so-called white race. The Negro worker thinks not as a worker but as a Negro. This is not his fault. It is the fault of a system that has found it necessary to confuse and divide; to divide and to conquer; to confuse workers about economic, social, and political issues, and to divide white workers from black worker by smoke screens of race propaganda and the promulgation of jim-crow laws and discriminatory practices. Whether the Negro worker wishes to isolate himself or not, he is isolated.

During the decade of the New Deal and of the United Front, the Negro found many would-be liberators. The Roosevelt pump-primers, New Deal liberals and brain-trusters told him that they were his best friends; Communist messiahs and their fellow travellers told him that they were his saviors; labor demagogues told him that they were his sure refuge. The Negro accepted them gladly and clutched eagerly at the hems of their garments. But, a few years went past, the Second World War came, and one by one his friends deserted him. They disappeared and their fair promises disappeared with them. The long-persecuted Negro realized that his status as a citizen in the U. S. A. was not changed. The chains of fascist racialism were yet about his loins; he was not yet free.

Through trial and error, the black worker came to realize that he and not his white brother must become the liberator. He cannot escape responsibility nor excuse his aimless feet while waiting for a leader. The old vanguard has retreated. The drive for the struggle for justice must come from him who suffers most from the prevailing injustice. The Negro is the worker farthest down. The scars of the system are upon his body. To him more than to any other worker, belongs the struggle. If democracy cannot work for him, how can it work for anyone else? He is truly the barometer of democracy.

The Negro cannot sit by and wait for Roosevelt to win the war first and then give him his freedom; if Lincoln had waited until after the Civil War to free the slaves, the slaves would have never been freed. The Negro cannot sit by and wait for labor to assume the vanguard. The AF of L has to put its own house in order, and the CIO has first to decide the delicate problem of politics, namely, which wing shall control, the right wing or the left? The Negro cannot sit by and wait for Stalin to give the signal. Moscow has enough problems of her own without assuming the responsibility for the domestic problems of the United States.

The Negro must wake up and start soldiering. He must build his own Movement, prove to his fellow workers that he has the backbone and stamina to initiate the program and start the March toward Freedom. "Winning democracy for the Negro is winning the war for democracy," says Randolph. Thereupon, the March-On Washington Movement limits its membership to Negroes in order that they may learn how to depend upon themselves, rely upon themselves, and discipline themselves to pay the price for their own liberation, and to assume the vanguard in the universal struggle for justice.

The Movement is not opposed to work with white groups. It recognizes that in the long struggle ahead the cause will attract many allies. The MOWM will work with numerous other organized groups with or without mixed membership, providing their objectives are the same. It will likewise welcome the cooperation of individual white persons who may serve as resources to MOWM committees. Some projects may even be organized on an inter-racial basis. To enter the struggle the black worker must have relief. Not that kind of relief, however, that will bribe him away from the struggle or make him resigned to his fate, and most certainly not that kind of relief that stems from opportunists who would utilize the struggle to attain their own ends. The black worker needs that solid foundation of dignity which is the sense of his rights as a citizen and his ability to claim those rights. Unless he learns to fight for these rights, they will never be won. His own tragic suffering compels him as mere idealism seldom would compel, to fight and work for a world that banishes fascism forever from its midst and welcomes democracy.

The Negro's is an unique and historic mission. His is the strategic place in the movement to destroy human exploitation and establish human dignity. This is his destiny, not because he is a saint, but because he is a victim.

There are yet some messianic yearnings among white people to be the saviors and the leaders of Negroes. Many indulge a hankering for heroism. If they try to lead, they can only succeed in misleading. Only Negroes, and those who share fully the conditions of their life, can lead the Negro.

Many middle-class Negroes do not condone this attitude. They doubt the ability of the Negro to stand up under pressure when once he has had the courage to isolate his problem. To rely exclusively upon his own leadership does to some of the petty black bourgeoisie seem like relying upon a weak instrument. They think in terms of the intellectual, cultural, and economic disinheritance of their people. It is agreed that the capitalist system has exacted a heavy toll; but the Negro people have two things

through which they will be invincible when once they discover their strength; they are indispensable, for they are workers; they are not a minority but universally a majority. Their primary task is to work for understanding and for unity.

What the ruling class fears is the awakening of the masses to the realization of their democratic power to demand social and economic change. What it sees is their inevitable awakening in the midst of war and the national crisis. The "privileged" threaten to destroy democracy rather than yield their own autocratic power. Since pigmentation makes it impossible for the Negro worker to escape the wrath of the ruling class when once it has been unleashed against the masses, it is providential and necessarily imperative that the Negro worker form his own organization and learn for himself the technique and strategy for working out his own destiny. It is to this end that the March On Washington Movement is dedicated, and it is for these reasons that membership in and administration of the March On Washington Movement must continue exclusively black.

CHAPTER THREE

ORGANIZING AND DISCIPLINING THE LEADERSHIP

The first task of the Movement is to discipline, train, and develop its own leadership. Those who would lead must be first of all conscious of the historic mission they are undertaking. They must be consecrated, imbued, and filled with a passion for justice. They must need nothing from the system so badly that they will barter their own freedom and the freedom of others in order to attain it.

The leadership must become a closely-knit unit, learning to work together, distributing jobs and assignments on the basis of individual fitness and willingness to assume responsibility. Each activity must be strategically planned and mapped out so that there is no danger of dissipation of energies. This discipline is severe and exacting. When once a decision has been democratically reached, it must be supported by each member of the leadership unit without question or equivocation. Such a program of determined action fits one for the life-and-death struggle that lies ahead.

In order to develop this core of thoroughly committed individuals, it is esssential to set up Leadership Institutes which will serve as training grounds for local unit leaders, and for National Committee members.

Leadership Institutes

Leadership Institutes will take place in each area. These will serve as recruiting and training stations for Unit leaders.

The technique for organizing a given area will be stressed and Non-Violent Goodwill Direct Action will be studied and developed as a method of strategy for anti-jim-crow campaigns.

Non-Violent Goodwill Direct Action is interpreted by the March On Washington to be "Matching one's ability to suffer against an opponent's ability to inflict the suffering." It is not resignation; it is not submission; it is bold, aggressive, and revolutionary. It invites attack, meeting it with a stubborn and nonviolent resistance that seeks to recondition the mind and weaken the will of the oppressor.

Special institutes and training courses will be developed within local Units so as to aid in building public morale.

CHAPTER FOUR

PROGRAM OF ACTION

Part I—Abolishing Segregation In The Armed Forces!

America and her allies are prosecuting a war not against the German people, the Italian people, or the Japanese people, but supposedly against a mutual enemy, fascism. One of the chief issues on which propaganda against Nazism has been based is that of racial discrimination. Americans abhor the insidious campaign of race hatred that is being conducted against the Jews of Europe while an undeclared race war goes on against the Negro both at home and abroad.

There exists in the United States a fantastic pattern of jim-crow which makes life as unsafe for the Negro soldier at home as on the battlefronts of the world. Few people realize that we are waging this war with two United States armies; the United States Army (White), and the United States Army (Colored). Only a few people know the whole shameful story of the oppression, exploitation, and indignity to which Negroes are being subjected in the armed forces. Just recently the MOWM office learned of the case of Private John Bryant, who was stationed in the West African area and who met death by gun shot, not while in line of duty, but at the hands of an armed guard of his own regiment.

The brutal and humiliating treatment of Negroes wearing the uniform of their country, and the complete failure of the Army authorities to protect those wearing that uniform, is breaking the morale of America's black citizen. Fear and panic are striking deep at his heart. The resentment to this discrimination is one of the underlying causes giving rise to violent outbursts and mass demonstrations all over the country. The United States government is actually spreading legalized and official jim-crow from the deep South throughout our national life and even overseas. The U. S. Army publication, Stars and Stripes, with its advertisements pointing out to service men abroad the exact location of jim-crow Service Men's Club, is proof of this outrageous insult to people of color. An example is the famous Alcazar Club, located in the suburbs of Oran, which displays a sign "For Colored Soldiers," and has an all-Negro staff. Here is a territory largely populated by Arabs, who are members of a darker race and who have for centuries mingled freely with the native Negroes without any distinction based on race, and which now has had an introduction to the notorious United States race problem. The doctrine of white supremacy is the same whether promulgated by Hitler or by the United States Army.

Jim-crow in the armed forces is illegal. Section 4-A of the 1940 Draft Act reads:

> *In the selection and training of men under this Act, and in the interpretation and execution of the provisions of this Act, there shall be no discrimination against any person on account of race or color.*

make copy

The method by which Negroes are drafted and trained under Selective Service definitely violates the provisions of this law. Not a word has come from the President, as Commander-in-Chief of the entire military establishment, condemning the violators of this law.

Winfred Lynn, a young Negro resident of Jamaica, Long Island, and his brother, Conrad, a capable and militant young attorney of New York City, are now fighting a test case on Section 4-A of the Draft Act. In June, 1942, Winfred was notified by his draft board, Local 261, of Jamaica, that he had been put in 1-A. He sat down and wrote a letter.

> Gentlemen: I am in receipt of my draft-reclassification notice. Please be informed that I am ready to serve in any unit of the armed forces of m ycountry which is not segregated by race. Unless I am assured that I can serve in a mixed regiment and that I will not be compelled to serve in a unit undemocratically selected as a Negro group, I will refuse to report for induction.
>
> Yours respectfully,
>
> WINFRED W. LYNN

This letter was the beginning of an important legal attack. Conrad and Winfred began the long legal fight alone. Later, in December, Arthur Garfield Hayes, of the American Civil Liberties Union came into the case as trial lawyer. At the present time both of the Lynn brothers are in the Army. The case was argued before the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals; from there it was carried to the U. S. Supreme Court, which refused to review the case.

The March On Washington Movement has constituted a Citizens' Committee to finance the bringing of this case to justice and to supplement this legal fight by a great popular campaign to line up progressive opinion behind it, so as to make sure that the Supreme Court will consider it fully and fairly.

Two big issues will be raised in this case: first, is segregation in itself discrimination; second, is a jim-crow army compatible with a war alleged to be fought for democratic aims.

The Movement also calls upon President Roosevelt to issue a National Proclamation abolishing segregation in the armed forces. Such an order is not without precedent. Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation while the Civil War was yet in progress. The Negro American demands a Second Emancipation.

This crusade must go forward. Thousands of volunteers are needed to enlist in the campaign. Injustice cannot be avenged by smashing windows and ramsacking stores. The fight must be intelligently directed and systematically directed and systematically waged. Hitler must be opposed as valiantly at home as on the battlefields. It is as heroic for a Negro to spend his life in the struggle for democracy in the United States as to spend his blood on the battlefronts of Europe.

Part II—Fair Employment Practices

It has been stated how the March On Washington Movement secured Executive Order No. 8802 and established the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices. This Committee proceeded with its extraordinarily valuable work of investigating cases of discrimination affecting religious and cultural minorities as well as racial minorities and producing a cumulative record of solid accomplishments in the face of great difficulties.

The Committee was called upon to investigate discrimination in the railroad industry by the Provisional Committee to Organize Colored Locomotive Firemen. All had gone well until this so-called "Black and Tan" Committee went into Birmingham and told the southern whites that they, too, must comply with the Order. From that time on the Committee was in trouble.

When the public hearings were scheduled to expose discrimination against Negro firemen by the railroads, the reactionary Southern political bloc, together with the powerful railroad Brotherhoods, brought such tremendous pressure upon the President that Paul V. McNutt, Chairman of the War Manpower Commission, called off the hearings. The Chairman of the FEPC resigned and the little hope that the President's Committee had given Negroes faded and died.

A. Philip Randolph immediately rallied the American people to the cause of the Negro Firemen and to the cause of saving and maintaining the President's Committee. A conference to Save the FEPC was called in Washington in January, 1943, just four days after postponement of the hearings.

Efforts were made to find the reason behind the drastic action. Pressure group after pressure group rallied to the cause. Finally, the Committee was reconstituted in the early summer of 1943 and the public hearings for the railroad case were held in the Department of Labor Auditorium September 15, 16, 17, and 18.

The March On Washington Movement carries forward the campaign to see that the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices is made a permanent post-war agency. A. Philip Randolph and B. F. McLaurin took the initiative to call a Conference of Citizens, Negro and white, to meet in Washington, September 13 and 14, to set up a Council for a Permanent FEPC.

This Conference drew up a Bill to be presented to Congress calling for the establishment of a Permanent Court On Fair Employment Practices which has been introduced in both the House and Senate with by-partisan sponsorship. The Conference also provided for a Citizen's Lobby to be located at Washington, D. C., to carry on negotiations for the enactment of this legislation.

Part III—Non-Partisan Political Bloc

It is apparent that the country is growing increasingly more reactionary. The present administration is yielding constantly to the pressure of Southern politicians, and reactionary Northern industrialists. Minorities are already beginning to feel the sting of disappointment. The Negro is headed for a worse disaster than any he has ever faced. It is necessary that the Negro people consolidate their interests and organize on a mass basis to develop a powerful Non-Partisan Political Bloc for generating mass political pressure. Plans and strategy must be developed to secure mass registration of Negroes for the primaries and for the elections. The March On Washington Movement is laying plans for a gigantic Non-Partisan Demonstration.

Part IV—Western Hemispheric Policy Conference of Free Negroes

We have heard much of the campaign in Africa and the diplomatic negotiations between the French Generals and the representatives of the United Nations. Nothing is being said about the African natives. If the peace of the world is to be secure, the imperialists must evacuate both Africa and the Carribean area. The natives must be free to establish their own government. Knowledge can only be secured through opportunity and practice and this will never come until the people have the free exercise of self-government.

The March On Washington Movement intends to popularize the slogan of a Free Africa and a Free Carribean, and to call a Western Hemispheric Policy Conference of Free Negroes to negotiate for their independence. The time is now ripe to demonstrate for freedom.

The March On Washington Movement mobilizes the Negro masses for a fight to end the spread of jim-crow. This fight is not against America's war effort. The Negro is the test of the sincerity of America's claim to democracy. If she is unready and unwilling to grant its free exercise to the Negro citizens within her gates, how will China, Mexico, Africa, and the Philippines feel that she will really want it for them. The black man wants the cause of the United Nations to triumph. His aims are compatible with the expressed aims of the war. His fate is tied up with the fate of democracy. If democracy fails in the United States then it is a lost cause for the world. To quote A. Philip Randolph, "The Negro has a rendezvous with destiny —in Washington." The March On Washington Movement is pledged to keep the faith.

The Crusade Is On.

MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT

2084 Seventh Avenue, Hotel Theresa Bldg. - - - New York

N. Y. 'March On Washington' Group Plans Parade Protest Of Lynchings

Chicago Def. July 25, 1942

NEW YORK.—The execution of Odell Waller on July 2, described as a "legal lynching" by irate Negroes, followed closely by the mob lynching of Willie Vinson on July 16 in Texarkana, Texas, the shooting of Private Jessie Smith by a [illegible] in Flagstaff, Ariz., and the beating of the noted tenor, Roland Hayes and his wife in Rome, Ga., have brought a country-wide storm of protest.

New York Negroes under the direction of the local division of the March on Washington Movement plan a silent parade to the tune of muffled drums Saturday, July 25 to protest this wave of killings and brutality.

In announcing plans for the parade Dr. Lawrence Ervin, president of the New York division, March on Washington Movement, said, "We want the world to know, and particularly our government, how the Negroes in Harlem feel about the electrocution of Waller, the lynchings of Willie Vinson and Pvt. Jessie Smith in Texas and Arizona, and the brutal beating and jailing of Roland Hayes. There will be more Wallers and Vinsons and Smiths if we let these things go unchallenged. No Negro is safe anywhere."

[illegible] was born in Virginia but had [illegible] here for the past 70 years.

HEALTH EDUCATORS

MIAMI, Fla.—The board of public health of the state of Florida, in connection with its campaign against venereal diseases, sent Mrs. Margaret Blake and Dr. Ferdinand Bradford here last week to acquaint the residents of this vicinity with the latest methods of prevention and cure.

A Wisconsin inventor's farm combine for harvesting and threshing grain can be operated by one man.

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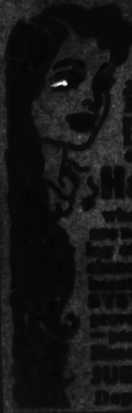
If you suffer from Asthma Symptoms, from paroxysms, choking, wheezing—write quick for FREE TRIAL OFFER of amazing Dr. Hayes' Inhaler, from unsolicited testimonials, actually tested. Write HAYES, 1000 Fletcher Life Building, Indianapolis, Ind.



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PATRONIZE OUR ADVERTISERS

MARCH ON WASHINGTON movement has strong supporters in these hi school and college girls caught by the camera in a silent poster walk on Seventh ave. The posters announce the *Silent Parade* protesting the electrocution of Odell Waller and the lynchings of Wilie Vinson, army private Jessie Smith, and the beating of Roland Hayes and his wife. Pictured are: Bernice McMillan, Thelma Griffith, Floria Pinkney, executive- secretary of New York division of MOV; Ruth Neal and Mary Thompson.

March On Washington Staging Silent Parade, Muffled Drums

The execution of Odell Waller July 2, described as a "legal lynching" by irate Negroes, followed closely by the mob lynching of Willie Vinson July 16 in Texarkana, Texas, the shooting of Pvt. Jessie Smith by a posse in Flagstaff, Arizona, and the beating of the noted Negro tenor, Roland Hayes, and his wife in Rome, Georgia, have brought a country-wide storm of protest from Negroes. NY Negroes, under the local division of the March on Washington Movement, plan a silent parade to the beat of muffled drums, Saturday, July 25, at 2:30 pm to protest this wave of killings.

A. Philip Randolph, national director of the movement, in a vigorous letter of protest to President Roosevelt, declared, Waller's electrocution has intensified a wave of determination for a showdown on the question of total democracy for the Negro which cannot long be held back by leaders who use the bargain and compromise method. It was the signal for the barbarous forces in this country to renew the unleashing of their venom of hatred upon the Negro people.

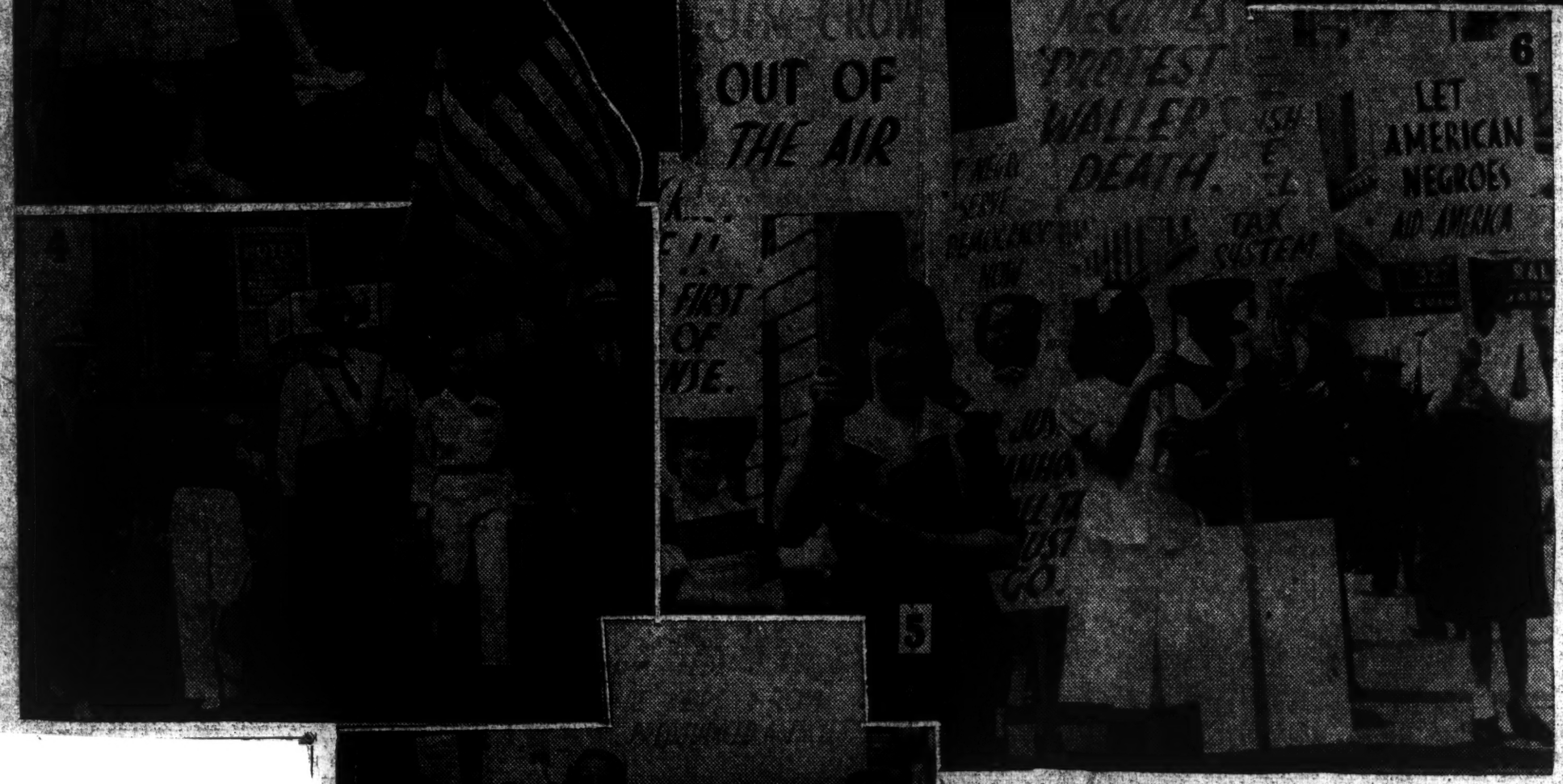
"With the world in the agony of a war for the survival of sheer human decency, the race issue in America is crucial to the whole struggle. These fascist-like brutalities in the United States are grist for the propaganda mill of the Axis powers and undoubtedly will be used to destroy the faith of allied nations in the honesty and integrity of American democracy, and hasten the deterioration of the morale of the enslaved peoples of the world which hangs precariously on this hope," Randolph continued. "If the Negro is not given his full rights now, then the battle for democracy is lost."

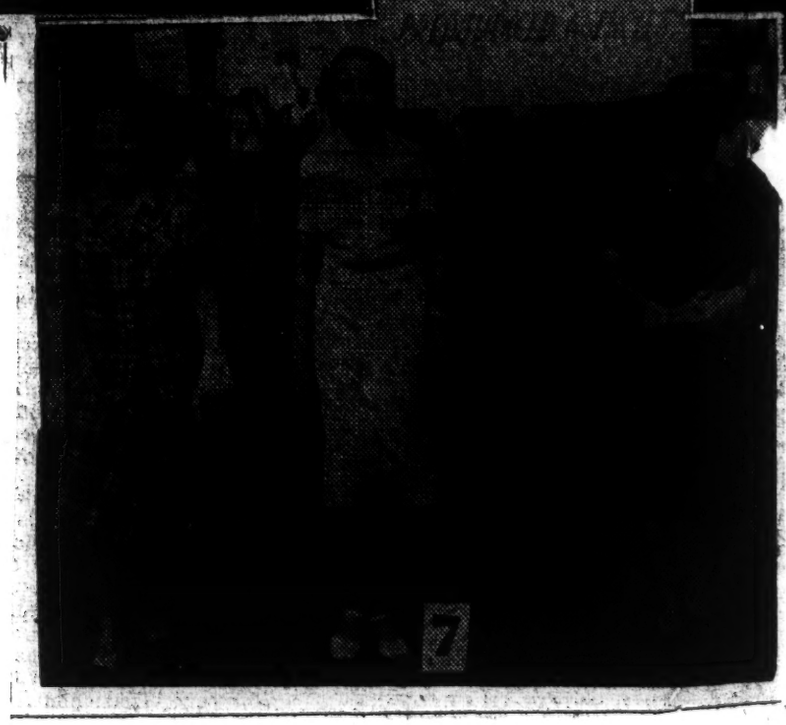
In announcing plans for the parade, Dr. Lawrence Ervin, president of the NY division, said, "We want the world to know, and particularly our government, how the Negroes in Harlem feel about the electrocution of Waller, the lynchings of Willie Vinson and Private Jessie Smith in Texas and Arizona, and the brutual beating and jailing of Roland Hayes.

Wearing black mourning arm bands and carrying signs of protest against lynching, Waller's electrocution and the poll tax, the marchers will assemble at 56th st and Eighth ave, march south to 14 st, east on 14 to Union Square where the paraders will be greeted by music and speakers.

NEW YORKERS JOIN HANDS IN APPEALFOR DEMOCRACY . . . HOLD PARADE

P: Courier - May 1





New Yorkers banded themselves together recently in an all-out fight for real Democracy and added thousands to their numbers as they paraded through the city streets with their bright banners and signs of appeal.

No. 1—A group of pic'ets step lively as they participated in the picketing for Democracy.

No. 2—Like the "Spirit of '76" these patriots beat the rhythm for the marching hundreds as they made their wants heard in orderly fashion.

No. 3—Viola Jones, Jean Wiley, Dolores Calvin and Shizu Asahi are prominent in this group of all races crying out for equality and democracy at home as well as abroad.

No. 4—Under the banner of the "March On Washington" Movement, white and colored citizens, young and old, marched in silent protest against the discriminations and prejudices in America which has kept Democracy from Negroes.

No. 5—Ida Lieberman, popular Chicago patriot, does her bit in the program.

No. 6 — Nine-year-old Yvonne Tunquest isn't going to let the big folks get ahead of her. She knows what Democracy should be.

No. 7—Prominent members of the parade were: Bessie Beardon and Emma S. Keith shown as the group moved down Eighth avenue out of 56th street.

White And Colored New Yorkers March In Silent Protest Against Intolerence, Bigotry At Home

By ALFRED A. DUCKETT
Staff Correspondent

NEW YORK CITY, July 30.—Saturday under the banner of the March-On-Washing- [illegible] representatives of many organizations and committees took their cr[illegible] to the sidewalks of New York. In direct protest against the exec[illegible] poll tax, lynching and discrimination in all its ugly forms. [illegible]

[illegible] Walker, the [illegible] by some [illegible] blocks in a [illegible] through the streets of lower Manhattan.

In what was perhaps the strang[illegible] demonstration in New York's history, the marchers moved at [illegible] pace to the background of the beat of [illegible] drums. Black armbands on their sleeves gave the march a funeral touch.

From the theatrical and amusement center in the "40's" through the garment and fur centers of the "30's" and on down to thronged Union Square, the procession moved, halting traffic in many spots and everywhere capturing the attention and curiosity of thousands of jaded New Yorkers who thronged hotel lobbies, department store doors and apartment house windows to "see what it was all about."

Your correspondent trudged the long trek abreast of the parade and heard and saw diverse and interesting evidences of reaction on the part of bystanders and spectators.

There was the stout, little Jewish proprietor of a fur shop who rushed back into her store and told her employees and customers:

"Wiens see something funny. A [illegible] of colored people parading!"

There was the firm jawed gentleman who said with a steely glint in his eye:

"What are they doing here in a white section?"

Then of course, there were the sympathetically-approving spectators, white and colored, who seemed to feel that it was about time that a race of downtrodden people had become militant.

But whether sympathetic or not, thousands of New Yorkers Saturday found out that a race was on the march on the march with people who demanded, "Leave the Jim Crow Line off the Assembly Line," "Let American Negroes Help America," or "Odell Walker Was Lynched."

[illegible] as impressed as were the [illegible] along the line of [illegible] Square, scene of many rallies, [illegible] and mass meetings, was [illegible] before the drive of the marchers.

[illegible] Brown, opening the meeting in the square, first introduced to the audience, Morris Milton, of the Workers' Defense League, the only white man to attend the Walker rites. [illegible] the funeral to his audience he told his hearers:

"I saw the body of Odell Walker [illegible] was ashamed to be a white man."

Dr. Channing H. Tobias, Senior Secretary of Colored Work for the Young Mens Christian Association, said the protest was "not in the interest of the Negro race, but in defense of the principles upon which this democratic nation was founded." Tobias blasted the anti-Negro statements made last week by Governors Talmadge and Dixon of Georgia and Alabama and said:

"It is a question of whether the United States will allow those in high authority in the Southern States to place their prejudices ahead of an edict of our President in a wartime era."

Anne Arnold Hedgeman, a Regional Director of the Office of Civilian Defense, told the audience that it is the responsibility of the Negro to "help America save its own soul."

Most rousing speech of the evening was made by Dr. Lawrence Erwin, president of the New York Division of March-On-Washington. Erwin made an eloquent full-dress attack on Southern prejudice and issued the ringing challenge, that:

"Negroes are determined to have a complete, full and perfect equality with all other men in this democracy. With this there can be no compromise."

A democracy which excludes any of its citizens is but a "hollow mockery," the speaker added. He counselled Negro America to follow "the undisputed race championship of A. Phillip Randolph."

Iona Morris Yates, youth leader, remarks, were received with great approval by the audience.

Robert Early, chairman of the Parade Committee, read excerpts from a scheduled address by William Agee who was unable to be present.

With characteristic forthright bluntness, the Agee address [illegible] over the theme that [illegible] not be won [illegible]

Mo W M

2 States Tell U. S. to Stop Helping Negro

Montgomery, Ala., July 24—Two Southern governors—Gene Talmadge of Georgia and Frank M. Dixon of Alabama—grew wrathful today over attempts of federal agencies to reduce racial discrimination in Dixie. They charged that outsiders were trying "to tear down our principles of race segregation."

Gov. Dixon, refusing to sign a contract for 1,750,000 yards of convict-made cloth with the Defense Supplies Corp., explained that it contained a working-class discrimination clause.

Segregation in Danger

He said such a policy would destroy segregation "under which the white and Negro races have lived in peace together in the South since reconstruction."

With such a clause in the contract, Dixon said, "we could expect the Fair Employment Practice Committee to descend upon the state with the demand that Negroes be put in positions of responsibility in prison cotton mills, and even to bring about a situation where white employees will have to work under Negroes."

Georgia's Tradition

Tobacco-chewing Gov. Talmadge advised Negroes who do not like the state's segregation laws "to stay out of Georgia." He added, "Outside influences know nothing about the traditions and conditions here, and should not interfere with the friendship between the two races of long years' standing."

Talmadge, who is running for a fourth term, referred to the beating suffered recently by Roland Hayes, Negro concert singer. After Mr. Hayes had objected to discrimination in a store,

Silent Negro Parade in N.Y. Protests Lynchings

Daily Worker July 26, 1942 (First Page)

Protest against the lynch terror took form in New York yesterday in two concrete actions.

At 1:30 the Negro Labor Victory Committee led a delegation to Congressman Joseph A. Gavagan's office, 1775 Broadway, to request his signing the petition to force the Geyer anti-poll tax bill to the floor of the House of Representatives for a showdown vote.

Later, on 36th St. between Eighth and Ninth Aves., hundreds of Negro men, women and children assembled for a silent parade in protest against lynching against the poll tax and against other acts of terror directed at the Negro people.

The delegation to Mr. Gavagan's office, led by Ewart Guinier, executive secretary of the Negro Labor Victory Committee, consisted of Mrs. Dorothy K. Funn, also a member of the Committee; Howard Matson, of the National Federation of Constitutional Liberties; George Murphy, of the national office, National Negro Congress; Hope R. Stevens, president of the Manhattan Council, National Negro Congress; Al Bland, International Fur and Leather Workers Union; Sol Bloom, Local 101, Furriers Joint Council; Claude Spellen, Local 32B, Building Service Employees Union; Rev. J. N. C. Davis, Christ Community Church; Sol Harper, Federation of Architects, Engineers and Chemists, CIO, and E. L. Dimitry, chairman of the Permanent Committee for Better Schools in Harlem.

Mr. Guinier and other members of the delegation joined the silent parade to Union Square in protest against the legal lynching of Odell Miller, Negro sharecropper, in Virginia recently, and for fuller integration of the Negro worker in war industries.

Marchers, wearing mourning armbands and carrying hundreds of placards with slogans of protest against Negro oppression, kept time to muffled drum beats. Crowds along Eighth Ave. and 17th St. to Union Square greeted the paraders.

Speakers at Union Square included Channing H. Tobias, Negro member of the national YMCA council, who called attention of the crowd, "some of whose members are present in this crowd," to the attempt of the governor of Alabama to "sabotage" war production by refusing to take a war contract containing a clause barring Negro discrimination, and Mrs. Ann Arnold Hedgeman, of the Office of Civilian Defense, who declared that the Negro people, in fighting fascism, "are fighting not for themselves alone but for all the oppressed of the world."

Mr. Randolph —

I do not think we can spend any further energy fighting the Communists. Our weakness is our lack of strong organization. If we build that organization, we have nothing to fear from these groups. However, I think we should take cognizance of their activities.

P.M.,

(PAULI MURRAY)

PACK THE RENAISSANCE TONIGHT!

HITLER SCORES AGAIN:

LYNCHINGS DISGRACE AMERICA

People of Harlem!

Trade Unionists!

Americans!

ACT NOW *against lynching and the poll tax system.*

These distributed day of our postponed membership meeting July 15th.

ATTEND

MASS MEETING TONIGHT JULY 15

8 P. M.

AT

RENAISSANCE CASINO

138th STREET and SEVENTH AVENUE

THE FACTS: On Monday Morning Willie Vinson, 25 year old Negro Youth, was taken from a hospital in Texarkana, Texas by a blood-drunk mob and lynched. He had committed no crime. Odell Waller, Private Jesse Smith and now Willie Vinson.

UNITE FOR:

1. IMMEDIATE PASSAGE OF ANTI-LYNCHING AND ANTI-POLL TAX LEGISLATION.
2. THE OUTLAWING OF THE KLAN.
3. FULL EQUALITY AND DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS FOR THE NEGRO PEOPLE.
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MOnument 2-2541

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LYNCHINGS DISGRACE AMERICA

People of Harlem!

Trade Unionists!

Americans!

ACT NOW *against lynching and the poll tax system.*

ATTEND

MASS MEETING

TONIGHT

JULY 15

8 P. M.

AT

RENAISSANCE CASINO

138th STREET and SEVENTH AVENUE

THE FACTS: On Monday Morning Willie Vinson, 25 year old Negro Youth, was taken from a hospital in Texarkana, Texas by a blood-drunk mob and lynched. He had committed no crime. Odell Waller, Private Jesse Smith and now Willie Vinson.

UNITE FOR:

1. IMMEDIATE PASSAGE OF ANTI-LYNCHING AND ANTI-POLL TAX LEGISLATION.
2. THE OUTLAWING OF THE KLAN.
3. FULL EQUALITY AND DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS FOR THE NEGRO PEOPLE.
4. VICTORY OVER HITLER AND HITLERISM.

Auspices: Negro Labor Victory Committee
217 West 125th Street
MOnument 2-2541

AND

National Conference of Negro Youth
200 West 135th Street
AUdubon 3-9068

ODELL WALLER
Memorial Meeting

From Wallers
Last Testament:

". . . In my case I worked hard from sun up until sundown trying to make a living for my family and it ended in death for me.

"You take big people—as the President, Governors, judge, their children don't never have to suffer. They has plenty of money. Born in a mansion nothing ever to worry about. I am glad some people are that lucky."

BORN
1916

LEGALLY
LYNCHED

1942

IN MEMORY OF ODELL WALLER:- A VICTIM OF JIM-CROW JUSTICE LEGALLY LYNCHED BY THE SYSTEM OF ECONOMIC AND RACIAL OPPRESSION

SPEAKER:

GEORGE BREITMAN

EDITOR - THE MILITANT

FRIDAY, JULY 10th, 1942

8:30 PM

Jean Phillips

Auspices: HARLEM WORKERS CLUB

FREE ADMISSION 72 West 125th Street, New York

These distributed on July 24 as before our leaflets came yet. Police.

SUPPORT THE

SILENT

Protest Parade

SATURDAY, JULY 25 2:30 P.M.

From Columbus Circle

59th STREET and 8th AVENUE

TO UNION SQUARE

PROTEST:
- The Legal Lynching of Odell Waller
- The Mob Lynching of Willie Vinson in Texas
- The Police Murder of Private Jesse Smith in Arizona
- The Beating of Richard Hayes in Rome, Ga.

To win this war America must be United. All Nazi-Like Race Prejudice and Jim Crow practices must be rooted out of American life. All Americans must be given the ballot. Now is the time for the Negro People and their friends to Unite for Victory against the real enemies of America at home and Abroad.

DEMAND A PRESIDENTIAL PROCLAMATION ON NEGRO RIGHTS!

DEMAND THE PASSAGE OF THE ANTI-POLL TAX BILL!

Swell the Ranks of the

MARCHERS FOR DEMOCRACY

Read The DAILY and SUNDAY WORKER For Daily Negro News. 5 cents on Newstands

Issued by Communist Party and Y.C.L. of Harlem
112 200 West 135th Street AUdubon 3-9675

THE MARCH SPECIAL

ALL OUT EVERYBODY! BE THERE!

JOIN THE

SILENT PARADE

Saturday July 25th

(1) To mourn execution of sharecropper Odell Waller.

(2) To protest

- Brutal lynchings of two Negroes.
- Shameful attack on Roland Hayes.

(3) To abolish the POLL TAX SYSTEM.

SWELL THE CROWD AT UNION SQUARE
4:30 – 6:30 P.M.

Assemble at 56th St. and 8th Ave. – 2:30 P.M.

March-On-Washington Movement
2084 Seventh Ave. MO 2-3350

STOP LYNCHING
BY TRAITORS

Hitler's 5th Column
ATTACKS NEGROES

3 NEGROES LYNCHED IN 10 DAYS!

ODELL WALLER IN VIRGINIA
WILLIE VINSON IN TEXAS
Private SMITH IN ARIZONA

THESE CRIMES OF HITLERITES AND K.K.K. MUST STOP HERE AT ONCE.
THE CRIMES OF THE NAZI IN EUROPE MUST BE STOPPED THRU A 2nd FRONT NOW

ACT NOW! TOMORROW MAY BE TOO LATE

ATTEND

MASS PROTEST RALLY

FRIDAY; EVENING, JULY 17, 1942

AT 8:30 O'CLOCK

Sponsored By: HARLEM YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE 200 West 135th Street

UNITE NEGRO AND WHITE FOR VICTORY OVER HITLER AND JIM CROW IN 1942

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

SUBJECT FILE

March On Washington Movement
Research Inquiries

1955-71

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE
Department of Government
HANOVER - NEW HAMPSHIRE

2

25 August 1955

Mr. Bennie Smith
International Vice-President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL
Detroit, Michigan

Dear Mr. Smith:

I am presently engaged in research in which you can provide valuable assistance. The work I am doing has led me to a thorough consideration of the March on Washington Movement in which you played an important part in the 1940's. Mr. A. Philip Randolph has been extremely helpful to me in providing several interviews and in allowing access to MOWM materials. Nonetheless, it is my intention to buttress the data I have already collected with comments on the MOWM by its core of activists.

The enclosed questionnaire does not attempt to put words into your mouth by only allowing room for simple yes or no responses. Rather, it is requested that you use your own words to help provide an objective analysis of an important part of American political history in which you were a participant.

Scholars are forever incurring debts of gratitude to people such as yourself who take the trouble and time to assist us in our work. There is no other way in which such research can be accomplished. Therefore, please accept my heartfelt thanks for your important cooperation.

Sincerely,

Herbert Garfinkel
Professor of Government

P.S. It is understood that your memory of details concerning the MOWM has faded somewhat over the years. Your best recollection will be valuable all the same.

Do you happen to know where E. Pauline Meyers, who was National Executive Secretary of the March, can be reached?

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE
Department of Government
HANOVER · NEW HAMPSHIRE

28 October 1955

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
International President
Brotherhoos of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th St.
New York 27, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Randolph:

I am addressing the following questions to you hoping that you will be able to answer them out of your memory. If so, it would be very helpful to me and least troublesome to you.

In late spring and early summer of 1942 the March conducted a series of highly successful rallies at Madison Square Garden as well as in St. Louis and in Chicago. These were important signs of strength in the wartime Negro protest. However, my research leads me to conclude that the original idea for a rally at that time was that it take place in Washington, D.C. to take advantage of the symbolism of the target for the original March on Washington. It appears that, despite some efforts at organization, no Washington rally took place.

What I would appreciate your commenting on is the following:
(1) Is the above accurate?
(2) Why did the Washington, D.C. MOWM fail to organize a mass rally similar to those in New York, St. Louis and Chicago?

Forgive this further imposition upon your time and energies. When my manuscript is completed I hope to send a copy to you for comment. Perhaps I am not overly vain if I say that I think you will not be displeased with what I have written.

Fraternally yours,
Herbert Garfinkel
Herbert Garfinkel

OCT 31 REC'D

November 7, 1955

Mr. Herbert Garfinkel
Dartmouth College
Department of Government
Hanover, New Hampshire

Dear Mr. Garfinkel:

Concerning your letter of October 28, 1955 may I list the following answer to your question Why Not a Mass Meeting in Washington, D. C.?

Answer: It was my feeling that no great public meeting should be held in Washington, D. C. before the March took place lest it lessen the possible ardor, enthusiasm and emotional drive we desired to develop to give force and impact to the culmination of the March effort in Washington, D. C. Instead of developing a huge public mass meeting, we planned for the actual organization of the March, in the event it actually took place. As a part of this program we secured a huge hall in which we had various committees designed to handle the various aspects of the problems of marchers in Washington.

We, however, did hold a mass meeting in Washington, D. C. when the March was called off to tell the public and some people who came to Washington for the March anyway why it was called off.

I hope this answer may be helpful to your study.

Sincerely yours,

APR/b

A. Philip Randolph
International President

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE
Department of Government
HANOVER · NEW HAMPSHIRE

November 14, 1955

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
International President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York 27, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Randolph:

Thank you very much for your response to my query concerning the March on Washington Movement.

I fear that I did not make myself clear. I was inquiring about the reasons why the original plans to hold a mass rally in the Washington, D. C. Ball Park fell through in the summer of 1942. Your answer indicates that you assumed I was concerned with the situation in July of 1941, the time of the original march activity. That is not the case.

The period I am concerned with is one year after the FEPC order; the same time as the March held its very successful rallies in Madison Square Garden, St. Louis and Chicago. Perhaps your memory will be refreshed if I say that your correspondence indicates that you attempted to get the Secretary of Interior, Harold Ickes', approval of the use of Lincoln Memorial for this purpose but that he denied permission. At that point you undertook negotiations over the use of the Ball Park. There is no record of any such meeting ever taking place and I was interested to learn why the plans fell through. Given the general idea of the mass rallies, to bring pressure to bear on the administration to strengthen the FEPC and to end discrimination in the armed forces, a mass rally in Washington, D.C. would seem to be the best way of demonstrating Negro arousement to the President. Yet that rally never was held so far as I can make out.

To summarize: What I would appreciate your recollection on was why, at the time of the Madison Square Garden rally (June 16, 1942), one year after the 8802 order setting up the FEPC, plans to hold a similar rally in the Washington, D.C. Ball Park fell through?

Forgive this further imposition but I am sure you appreciate that I am making every effort to be accurate and fair in my writing about these events.

Sincerely yours,

Herbert Garfinkel

Herbert Garfinkel

NOV 1 5 REC

November 28, 1955

Mr. Herbert Garfinkel
Dartmouth College
Department of Government
Hanover, New Hampshire

Dear Mr. Garfinkel:

Concerning your letter of November 14, in which you request my reasons for not staging a rally in Washington, D. C. during the time we were staging huge rallies in some key cities of the country in the interest of FEPC:

As I look back on the period, the only reason I can assign was that we were unable to get a place for said rally and to build up a program attractive enough to develop a demonstration in proportions comparable to the meetings we had staged in other cities.

Knowing the conservative climate of Washington, among both white and colored people, I was conscious of the need of a program which would touch off a rally of huge proportions and we were unable to get people of the stature we wanted for such a meeting.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

R:BW

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE
Department of Government
HANOVER · NEW HAMPSHIRE

June 19, 1956

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
International President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York 27, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Randolph:

Now that our college year is over I am back at work on my study of development of the FEPC issue in American politics. It has progressed very satisfactorily and I have completed over 200 pages of manuscript. I expect to complete the work this summer and hope to send you a copy before long, perhaps if my hopes are realized, in published form. I am most grateful to you for your assistance in my research without which I could not have gotten at crucial materials in this important episode in our political life.

Unfortunately, I must ask for one further favor which I hope you will have the patience to grant. It is indeed most important to this study, if it is to be at all accurate, and I have made every effort to discover the answer without troubling you but to no avail. There simply is no other person who can supply an answer to this question:

On January 11, 1943, Paul McNutt "indefinitely postponed" the FEPC hearings into discriminatory hiring practices by the railroad industry. This exploded the myth which you clearly did not entertain that the FEPC transfer to the War Manpower Commission did not destroy the independence of that body. At that blow to the FEPC you acted by calling together a Save FEPC Conference, to convene in Washington on February 5, 1943. This led, ultimately, to the formation of the National Council for a Permanent FEPC (September, 1943). Now my question is:

Why, when McNutt "postponed" the railroad hearings, did you not issue a call for a March on Washington? Some of your associates, at least Miss Layle Lane, urged such a course on you. What were your reasons for rejecting that advice?

I can not tell you how important the answer to that question is to those who are trying to understand the nature of political movements such as your great March On Washington Movement. Please do me the honor of giving me the benefit of your reflections on the above question.

Sincerely yours,

Herbert Garfinkel

Herbert Garfinkel

JUN 22 REC'D

July 19, 1956

Mr. Herbert Garfinkel
Dartmouth College
Department of Government
Hanover, New Hampshire

Dear Mr. Garfinkel:

Thank you for your letter of June 19, 1956 in which you requested statement from me on why I refused to call for a March On Washington when McNutt posponed the railroad hearings, in view of the desire of other associates for me to call a March on Washington. Pardon my delay in answering same it was due to my absence from the city.

The only reason why I refused to call for a March on Washington was that I knew that it would be utterly impossible to mobilize a March on Washington upon the issue of the postponement of the railroad hearings.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR/b

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE
∴ *Department of Government* ∴
HANOVER · NEW HAMPSHIRE

December 3, 1957

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
International President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York 27, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Randolph:

My publisher is making fine progress in bringing out the book I have written on the March on Washington Movement. In the effort to publicize the book the publisher wishes to know whether there is a collection of photographs depicting various aspects of the March which would be available to him. He is particularly interested in photographs of the Madison Square Garden rally of June 1942. I expect to be in New York sometime during the Christmas vacation, and I wonder if you will be there or can arrange to provide me with access to your file of MOWM photographs.

With kindest regards,

Cordially yours,

Herbert Garfinkel

Herbert Garfinkel
Assistant Professor

HG:LF

DEC 5 REC'D

December 16, 1957

Mr. Herbert Garfinkel
Department of Government
Dartmouth College
Hanover, New Hampshire

Dear Mr. Garfinkel:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of December 3, 1957 inquiring about the existence of photographs on the March on Washington Movement which may be available for use in your book.

May I say that I have no photographs available. However, many appeared in the Negro Press but I do not know how they can be secured.

With cordial best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR/b

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE
Department of Government
HANOVER · NEW HAMPSHIRE

December 20, 1957

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
International President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York 27, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Randolph:

I am preparing a history of the Negro March on Washington Movement for publication, and I would like your permission to quote the enclosed material. Allow me to say that this is a scholarly rather than a pecuniary venture, and I am hoping you will generously authorize worldwide use if properly credited to you.

Your cooperation will be very much appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Herbert Garfinkel

Herbert Garfinkel
Assistant Professor

HG:LF

Enc.

Dear Mr. Randolph:

Please forgive the formal tone of this: as you can see it is a form phrasing for all the permission letters I have to send out —

Merry Christmas & Happy New Year!

Herbert Garfinkel

P.S.
I am also enclosing a copy of a guide to the school segregation issue which I prepared for our use in an introductory political science course. I think it may be of interest to you.

The Black Worker

May 1941, p. 4. From "Dear fellow Negro Americans," to "It will create a new sense of self-respect among Negroes."

From "The Negroes' stake in national defense" to "ABOLISHING DISCRIMINATIONS IN ALL GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS, ARMY, NAVY, AIR CORPS AND NATIONAL DEFENSE JOBS."

March, 1942, p. 4., From " The Washington meeting is most vital and important," to " It is hoped that a meeting mobilizing 25,000 Negroes can be staged."

May 1940, p. 1. From "I quit the Congress because it is not truly a Negro Congress." to " Why should a Negro Congress have white people in it?" Randolph

Wire from Randolph and White from the correspondence between Randolph and Anna Rosenberg (BSCP file)

"IF TWO MEMBERS OUT OF BOARD OF FIVE OR SIX MEMBERS ARE TO REPRESENT LABOR THEY SHOULD BE NONE OTHER THAN THE PRESIDENT OF THE A F OF L AND C I O; MESSRS WILLIAM GREEN AND PHILIP MURRAY. WE HAVE NO OTHER RECOURSE THAN TO MAKE OUR POSITION PUBLIC IF LESSER REPRESENTATIVES ARE APPOINTED BY PRESIDENT AT YOUR INSISTENCE. WE WOULD REGRET BEING FORCED TO DO THIS BUT WE HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY TO THOSE WHO HAVE SUPPORTED THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON AND GENERAL PUBLIC WHICH HAVE OPPOSED DISCRIMINATION."

"A. PHILIP RANDOLPH AND WALTER WHITE"

Wire from Randolph to Mrs. Roosevelt (BSCP file)

"UNDERSTAND EXECUTIVE ORDER BEING PLANNED TO CHANGE STATUS OF FEPC AND MAKE IT SUBORDINATE TO ONE OF THE HEADS OF WAR PRODUCTION BOARD. WANT TO REQUEST AND URGE THAT YOU ASK THE PRESIDENT NOT TO PERMIT CHANGE IN STATUS OF FEPC UNTIL COMMITTEE HAS MET AND DISCUSSED THIS VITAL MATTER ITSELF WITH A VIEW TO MAKING RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE PRESIDENT ON ITS FUTURE STATUS. NEGROES OF THE NATION DEEPLY CONCERNED ABOUT FUTURE OF COMMITTEE BECAUSE OF THE GREAT WORK IT HAS DONE AND IS DOING TO ELIMINATE DISCRIMINATION IN NATIONAL DEFENSE. IT WOULD BE TRAGIC IF THE WORK OF THE COMMITTEE IS HANDICAPPED IN ANY MANNER."

Letter from Randolph to Harold Ickes, April 15, 1942;(BSCP files).

"Relative to meetings of this sort being inapropos at this time and meeting with the disfavor of the President, may I say that the A F of L and CIO are staging a series of protest meetings from coast to coast fighting against the action of certain Tory senators and congressmen who want to strip Labor of all its rights under the smoke screen of National Defense.

It is my feeling that a meeting of the sort we plan to atage will help immensely in developing a sounder, national unity for the prosecution of this War and the winning of victory over the totalitarian forces. We are just as interested and determined to see America and her Allies triumph in this conflict as the President is and we want to help him, but the moral position of our country is greatly weakened when we profess to be fighting the cause of democracy and deny it to our citizens because of color."

Letter from Randolph to the President of the Pittsburgh Courier. April 4, 1942; (BSCP files).

"The Madison Square Garden will cost about $4500, and the promotion of the meeting itself will be a considerable expense. The committee in Chicago is seeking to get the Stadium, which will accommodate some 25,000 people. This will cost about 5,000 or $6,000 without the promotional expenses. I have no figures on the cost of the Ball Park in Washington."

"We are hoping to finance these meetings through contributions from organizations, individuals and the sale of tickets for $.25. Chicago may sell the tickets for $.10 since the object is to get the masses to the meeting."

Letter from Randolph to "Neva", the Chairlady of the Chicago Planning Committee. May 22, 1942.

"Dear Neva:

These are some things that should be looked after immediately.

1. Sign across 47th Street and one on the open lot near the YWCA.

2. Perfect the details of the plans for two street parades with fife and drums and banners telling of the Coliseum meeting.

3. Build up plans for a chorus of 1000 voices, and get arrangements for this feature well set.

4. Get plans developed for the decoration of the Coliseum with American flags, especially the stage.

5. Get Clementine McCaggo and her group to plan a skit that will take place from 7:00 to 8:00 P.M.

6. Arrange to have this chorus sing "John Brown's Body," "Hold the Fort," "We Shall Not Be Moved," "A Mighty Fortress Is Our God," and so forth. We don't want any spiritual song that indicates resignation or weakness.

7. I suggested to Burton that a conference of the ministers of Chicago be called for him and Webster to address. A letter to the ministers calling for this conference should be signed by some of the leading ministers such as Reverend Carey, Reverend Evans, Reverend Kingsley, Reverend Turpeau, and a couple of outstanding Baptist ministers.

This conference should be called within the next week because time is growing short. At this conference an appeal should be made for an offering to be collected at each church for the Coliseum meeting.

(Letter from Randolph to "Neva", continued)

8. Get some one and put them definitely in charge of organizing some two or three hundred ushers for the Coliseum meeting, and also get adequate baskets or plates to take up collection.

All these details should be well planned and in hand a week before this affair; or otherwise everybody there will be up a tree and helpless.

9. Plan to have sound truck cover the city for about six days before the meeting. The price of this should be looked into immediately.

I hope everybody will buckle down to work and nobody will be crying upon each others shoulders because somebody stubbed his toe. We have got a big job to do and so little time to do it; but it can, must, and will be done.

Yours for 50,000 Negroes at the Coliseum meeting."

Letter from Randolph to Mr. Thurman Dodson, June 30, 1942.

"My experience with these giant meetings is that we need at least six or more weeks.

We took three months in New York and three months in Chicago. I would suggest that you try to get the date of August 10th or 17th. . . . It is going to take a whole lot of high-powered propaganda and advertising to put 25,000 Negroes in the Ball Park, and if we fail to have a great meeting, it will do the cause of the fight against Jim-Crow more harm than good. It will take a couple of weeks to break the lethargy and inertia of the people of Washington and get them to talk about the meeting.

We ought to have a full time man on the job for at least four weeks. Won't you let me know when you are planning to have the next meeting of the Committee so that I may be there?"

From a letter from Randolph to Mr. Thurman Dodson, August 4, 1942.

"I hope that the Headquarters are open and humming. I plan to come to Washington about a week before the Meeting and remain there to help build it."

"make the President and all officials in Washington know that the Negro's main business now is fighting for his rights."

Randolph letter of August 31, 1942 to the group in Washington when he advised them:

" to abandon plans for an outdoor meeting for the present and stage a church meeting, looking forward to an outdoor meeting in the early Spring."

Randolph letter to Mr. Herbert Garfinkel, November 28, 1955.

"As I look back on the period, the only reason I can assign was that we were unable to get a place for said rally and to build up a program attractive enough to develop a demonstration comparable to the meetings we had staged in other cities.

Knowing the conservative climate of Washington, among both white and colored people, I was conscious of the need of a program which would touch off a rally of hugue proportions and we were unable to get people of the stature we wanted for such a meeting."

Quotes from Randolph letter to Mrs. Bethune, June 8, 1942.

"that the meetings which we are holding are not in any way intended to hinder the war." (the war would be helped if Negroes insisted on)" their democratic rights of being permitted to play their part in the Army, Navy, Air and Marine Corps, defense industries, and the government as equals with the white people in this country."

Randolph to Chicago organizers, June 15, 1942.

Wrote to Chicago organizers to "have twenty or twenty-five thousand membership cards for this our greatest opportunity."

Randolph Telegram, September 2, 1942. (to Chicago group)

"KEEP STEADFAST IN OUR GREAT CAUSE."

Randolph letter to fourteen members of Chicago Division, MOWM. September 9, 1942.

"On the question of government of the division, that policy we have discussed before. It was pointed out that the March on Washington Movement grew up as a mass effort, and no attempt was made to subject it to any rigid rules. Such a policy would have been futile and dangerous.

We need plenty of latitude for action. This is why we were able to win the Executive Order 8802 and also the FEPC. I certainly doubt whether we could have done this with a movement hedged in by many rules and regulations.

However, the time has come now for a change in our set up and procedure and we will have a constitution and by-laws. . . .

I hope that as many members as possible attend the policy convention where we will give formal structure to the March on Washington Movement."

Randolph letter to Granger, September 9, 1942.

"May I say that the policy conference which we plan to hold in Detroit is not a big delegate conference, but a small body of people who will deal with goals, methods and tactics. . . . The Detroit conference is a planning conference in which intensive discussion of the questions you suggest will be made."

Randolph letter to his Washington MOWM chairman August 25, 1942:

"You will note that according to this person, two Communists spoke on the program, and a third . . . was scheduled to speak. . . . I want to suggest that we keep the Communists out of our programs regardless of what the occasion may be."

Randolph letter to Pauli Murphy, April 16, 1943.

"A conference of five hundred delegates is a good conference."

Letter from A. Philip Randolph to
Youth Division, MOWM, July 18, 1941 (excerpts)

"In the first place, the purpose of the march was specific, and not general. It was to secure an Executive Order from the President of the United States abolishing discriminations in national defense. . . [and] in the Federal departments of the Government."

"These were objectives that the people could understand, visualize, and feel. These objectives were developed in harmony with sound mass psychology; namely that the people cannot struggle for an omnibus program with a multiplicity of aims, but must have one central and vital issue around which to rally. . . . A concrete and practical method for achieving this objective was the issuing of an Executive Order by the President. This was done. Hence, . . . the reason for the march was removed."

"The strike vote is the positive, tangible expression of the will of the workers to strike if their demands are not complied with. However, the workers know, and so does the union, that all their demands will never be complied with. Therefore, when--as a result of negotiation and conference--the chief aims of the organization of the workers are realized, the proposed strike is called off.

This does not mean that another strike may not be proposed and scheduled."

"The Negro masses who want jobs now would have hurled curses upon the heads of the leaders of the Negro March-on-Washington movement if they had sacrificed an immediate and practical opportunity to secure employment opportunities for Negro masses in defense industries in order to satisfy a handful of Negro youth who apparently were more interested in the drama and pyrotechnics of the march than in the basic and main issue of putting Negroes to work."

"It would seem to me that your first function as a serious group, devoted to the cause of the Negro masses, was to actually mobilize the youth of the country--at least of Harlem. This you never did. You were more articulate about what you hoped to do than what you actually did. It is a grave question in my mind whether the youth division would have actually mobilized 25 youths to go to Washington. There is no tangible evidence to the contrary."

"I am really fully aware of the reason for the attitude of the youth division. It is the inevitable outcome of manipulation by an artful and aggressive fraction that religiously follow the Communist Party line as a bible of unerring salvation. It would have suited the Committee [sic] Party perfectly for the march to have gone on with the rejection of the President's Executive Order in satisfaction of the infantile, ridiculous, and tragic technique of dragging the Negro masses lower in the depths of unemployment and impoverishment in order to have a demonstration which might be labeled an expression of the revolutionary ardor of the Negro people."

Government 1 Dartmouth College

THE SCHOOL SEGREGATION ISSUE

The U.S. Supreme Court, in Brown v. Board of Education, 349 US 294, 99L ed 1083 (1954), and 349 US 294 (1955), ordered the ending of racial segregation in the public schools. This vital contemporary problem is here dealt with in terms of three aspects: (1) the ethical, (2) the legal, (3) the socio-political.

(1) The Problem of Political Values:

(a) Like all difficult moral issues the "right and wrong" of school segregation presents the dilemma of conflicting principles. Unquestionably the advocates of state rights can claim a valuable tradition. Essentially, the source in normative political theory is the doctrine of individualism and the corollary of decentralized institutional arrangements. This strand of thought is a derivative of democratic theory, but it is confronted by the frequently conflicting principle of civil rights claimed by persons who seek protection of those rights by the broader, national community.

Democracy requires "self-government," but what territorial demarcation is indicated by this principle? Moreover, are there any rights so basic to liberty that they can not be left to the determination of a majority of the local, or state, or national electorates? Thus, the conflict of the principles of state rights and federal protection of civil rights is an important expression of the dilemma of majority rule and minority rights studied earlier in the course.

(b) Another crucial aspect of the ethical problem concerns the political value of equality. If, as in the Dred Scott case, Negroes are regarded as inherently inferior there is a strong tendency to infer that they are not possessed of any rights white men are bound to respect. However, this is not good logic nor is it good ethics. The ideal of equality is not a factual descriptio of the capacity of men in such tangible characteristics as intelligence, mechanical skills or beauty. Equality is primarily an ethical statement of the personal worth and dignity of all men. Thus, even if it were true (it is not) that Negro children were of lower innate intelligence than whites it does not follow that schools should be segregated by race. As a matter of logic, superior Negro children would have to be admitted to superior schools along with equally superior white children; inferior white and Negro children would be segregated from superior white and Negro children. The principle of segregation would be discrimination between persons on the basis of intellectual capacity rather than race. Thus, Dartmouth College may discriminate between applicants in its selective admissions procedures, on the basis of College Entrance Board test scores, without violating the principle of equality.

As a matter of ethics, even if the fact of innate intellectual inferiority were proved this would not necessarily justify separate schools. It may legitimate separate schools if the ethical principle of respect for those of lesser capacity as persons is not violated. It would be necessary to assess the purpose of the arrangement and the consequences. If the purpose were simply to pin a badge of inferiority on the less fortunate persons this could scarcely be defended as an ethical recognition of factual inequality. If a man is in the gutter, that fact alone does not entitle one to walk upon him. Most ethical traditions would assign responsibility to lend a helping hand. Thus even if racial inequality could be proven as a fact, the ethical problem of school segregation would remain for separate consideration in terms of religious and ethical beliefs.

(2) The Legal Problem:

Was the U.S. Supreme Court acting in accordance with established judicial-review practices in its finding (Brown v. Board of Education) that public school segregation by race deprived the Negro "infant plaintiffs" of the equal protection of the laws required by the 14th Amendment? Charges have been leveled against the Court's opinion that it was a "sociological" rather than a "legal" determination. Allegedly, the Court chose to uphold socio-psychological conclusions about the effects of school segregation rather than following the doctrine of stare decisis. Thus, it is claimed the decision has sacrificed the traditional judicial interpretation of the 14th Amendment to the "non-legal" findings of social science.

This basic attack has been supplemented by efforts to show that the 14th Amendment was not ratified, that the Amendment, even if ratified properly, was expected by its framers to permit school segregation, and that the Court did not have jurisdiction because public school education is strictly a state power under the 10th Amendment.

The "supplemental" arguments need not detain us long. The proper ratification of the 14th Amendment has never been doubted in any decision of the Court nor do American constitutional scholars take this problem seriously. The intent of the framers, the Court held in the Brown opinion, was not clear, and, furthermore, the development of American education as a major institution into its present form took place after the 14th Amendment was adopted. Whether the equal protection of the laws can be provided through segregated schools is, therefore, a modern problem for contemporary determination. The 10th Amendment problem is only relevant if the Court were to hold that no rights provided by the federal Constitution were violated by the segregating states. The Court has jurisdiction under the 10th Amendment which explicitly recognizes that the states are limited by the Constitution (see also Article VI). Stare decisis? The Court has changed its mind before.

The charge that the Court doffed the traditional judicial robes for the garb of social science is rather complicated. On one level the attack is not a serious one because it is simply an effort to undermine the decision by linking the opinion to a group (social scientists) which has less prestige than the judiciary usually enjoys. In its serious form the problem raised by the references to various social science publications in the Court's opinion in Brown v. Topeka is as likely to be recognized by proponents of the decision as by opponents who favor school segregation. Many who welcome the decision fear the extent to which the Court's opinion relies on the social science literature, which sought to show that psychological harm is suffered by children who are forced to go to segregated schools. They argue that school segregation is unconstitutional under the 14th Amendment whether the children suffer deleterious personality effects or not. Opponents of the decision, claim that there is nothing in the 14th Amendment to require the same facilities, only equal facilities are required. The personality argument is, therefore, not a judicial matter. This was the argument in Plessy v. Ferguson (1896) which established the "separate-but-equal" doctrine.

Those who support the Court in its citation of socio-psychological findings argue that there is nothing revolutionary in this. They point to the Brandeis brief as providing the precedent that judicial notice may properly be taken of socio-economic factors as they pertain to a case. As the Court rejected the 1896 Plessy opinion, that the stigma of inferiority was not provided by the state law requiring segregated railroad cars, it referred to expert psychological findings in support of its conclusion that education separated on the basis of race was inherently unequal treatment of the children. The Court did not substitute a psychological decision for a legal one; it replaced the unsubstantiated and erroneous psychology of the Plessy majority with the social science-supported psychological finding of the unanimous Court in the Brown opinion. (The validity of the specific social science literature is a separate problem that cannot be gone into here.)

(3) The Problem of Implementation:

Unquestionably, the social change required by the Court's decision is a difficult problem of human engineering. This was recognized by the Court in allowing reasonable time for school boards to effect the necessary changes. However, despite impressive progress in the North and in the border states the "solid" South has embarked on a course of resistance exemplified by the Little Rock, Arkansas, situation. There, the effort to admit nine Negro children to the public high school was successful only when President Eisenhower supplied federal troops to police the area.

The legitimacy of this use of force is plain, and there are precedents dating back to George Washington for such executive orders. Nor was force as such used to support school integration

for the first time in Little Rock. Governor Clement of Tennessee had used the National Guard to quell rioters opposing school integration in Clinton, one year earlier. Also, it is important to realize that force was used by Governor Faubus in Little Rock to block the school board program and deny admittance to Central High School. The federalized National Guard of Arkansas which now protects the Negro children by force previously had directed that force to preventing their admittance to school. Force in some form is necessarily behind any order of government and is a potential threat to violators of the law.

At the same time, it is clear that law must rest on concensus and not simply on coercion if a political society is to provide liberty. Therefore, a serious problem remains as to how the Court's decree is to be implemented without a predominant reliance on force. It is tempting to call for the use of persuasion rather than coercion, for education rather than legislation. The feeling that this is a matter for the "minds and hearts of men" rather than a legal problem is very popular. Those who hold to this view tend to believe that "stateways do not make folkways" and that a very long time must elapse before school integration can be peaceably accomplished.

The American Negro community, by contrast, is unwilling to contemplate anything less than the "deliberate speed" which the Court has decreed. They maintain that they have been patient, that they have used conservative, legal methods to attain their rights and that those who counsel "gradualism" have really meant "don't go" rather than "go slow." The political strength of the Negro in the North and the increasing activity of Southern Negroes in such protest movements as the Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott (led by Rev. Luther King, Jr.) are obstacles to turning the clock back or making less than substantial and specific progress in providing civil rights. Thus, the call for peaceful, persuasive, educational efforts to end racial prejudice before taking steps to end discriminatory actions like school segregation or interference with voting rights will have to reckon with an aroused and powerful one-tenth of the nation.

It is a mistake to separate "legislation" and "education" as if these were incompatible. The law does have a powerful influence in moulding opinion. Studies of racial integration in the Armed Forces reveal the changed opinions of soldiers, including Southerners, who opposed integration before it was ordered but, having experienced it, now endorse it. Similar studies of interracial housing and employment provide the same results.

The road ahead is a difficult one, and the longest and hardest stretch is yet to come. The capacity of the nation to cope with this dilemma between our equalitarian creed and our slavery-tainted historical practices will depend on the mobilizing of our opinion leaders to act responsibly. The Southern leaders have the hardest burden--newspapermen, politicians, teachers, clergymen, businessmen, lawyers, union organizers, etc.--and they will bear

the brunt of the responsibility. But also, they have no choice if the rule of law is to be maintained over the rule of the mob, and if their responsible leadership is not to be subverted by the demagogue. The skills of human engineering to be mastered in providing such opinion leadership are as complex, and as important to the survival of this nation, as are the technological-scientific problems of a nuclear-space rocket universe.

January 10, 1958

Mr. Herbert Garfinkel
Assistant Professor
Department of Government
Dartmouth College
Hanover, New Hampshire

Dear Mr. Garfinkel:

Thank you for your letter of December 20, 1957 with enclosed material you wish my permission to use as quotes.

May I say that you are free to use any of my statements in your history of the Negro March on Washington Movement.

I am glad to get a copy of your material on the school segregation issue. It is quite good.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR/b

Autry Acrey
2800 McCart Apt. B
Fort Worth, Texas
July 20, 1971

A. Philip Randolph
280 - 9th Avenue Apartment #5A
New York, New York 10001

Dear Mr. Randolph,

I am a black graduate student in the Department of History at Texas Christian University and have just begun work on the topic of the 1941 march on Washington. I would, of course, like an interview with you and to get your personal views on the impact that the threatened march had on government officials and on the black newspaper people. But because of limited time and money I will not be able to come to New York for a personal talk. Letters, therefore, will be my only line of communication.

In conjunction with the march, what part did Walter White play in the movement? Do you feel that black America would have supported you? As you can see, I am concerned with all phases of the march. Whatever you can provide will be of great help.

I will, of course, be willing to pay any necessary charges for your time.

I will patiently wait for your reply.

Sincerely yours,

Autry Acrey

Autry Acrey

August 6, 1971

Mr. Autry Acrey
2800 McCart
Fort Worth, Texas 76110

Dear Mr. Acrey:

Thank you for your letter of July 20 expressing your interest in the proposed March on Washington of 1941.

Relative to the inquiries you make about it, may I say that it consider that it was eminently successful even though no actual march took place.

The proposal for the March, and the publicity attending it, were largely responsible for the White House conference with President Roosevelt on this question. At that conference practically the entire Cabinet was present, in addition to some government representatives who were not in the Cabinet.

A full and complete discussion of the March took place. President Roosevelt, of course, expressed his definite opposition to the March on the grounds that it would provoke trouble in the Capital. He also expressed the view that he was in support of my demand for government action in the interest of providing jobs for Negroes. However, he said that whatever he might plan to do about the matter, it would only be done without the threat of the March hanging over his head. I pointed out to him that the issuance of an executive order abolishing discrimination in employment and war industries was necessary.

Walter White supported the movement for a March on Washington and participated in the conference at the White House.

Relative to the stand of black Americans on the proposed March: I travelled throughout the country and held meetings in which I denounced racial discrimination in war industries and the government. There were widespread expressions of support of the March, and I am confident that if it had been held it would have been an overwhelming demonstration of black Americans against racial discrimination in jobs and other areas.

Professor Herbert Garfinkel has written a book on the March on Washington - When Negroes March, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1955. It contains a great deal of material which you may find helpful.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

SUBJECT FILE

March On Washington
Signed Support

1963

(1)

MARCH ON WASHINGTON

I, the undersigned, as an American citizen, hereby publicly express my support of the March on Washington Movement, which aspires not only to eradicate all racial barriers in American life but to liberate all Americans from the prison of their biases and fears. I cannot physically participate in this March, but I, like the rest of the world, have been tremendously stirred by so disciplined an exhibition of dignity and courage and persistence and would like to associate myself with it.

Ert Rosenthal

(Signature)

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Jeanne Mau

(Signature)

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Emmet Riordan

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Gloria Gilbert Perry
(Signature)
Wash DC

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188 Elmwood Ave
Cheshire, Conn.

William Rickel
(Signature)

22 Rue Duret, Paris 16e

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Mary Isabelle Kemp
(Signature)

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Marian Zeitlin
(Signature)

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Karen Schaffel
Jane Friedman
(Signature)

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I, the undersigned, as an ~~American~~ French citizen, hereby publicly express my support of the March on Washington Movement, which aspires not only to eradicate all racial barriers in American life but to liberate all Americans from the prison of their biases and fears. I cannot physically participate in this March, but I, like the rest of the world, have been tremendously stirred by so disciplined an exhibition of dignity and courage and persistence and would like to associate myself with it.

I'm a French citizen married to American citizen. Live here in Hawaii.

J. C. Beaglaes
(Signature)

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Linda G. Wilkins
(Signature)

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Joseph A. Carey
(Signature)

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Michael Goldman
(Signature)

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Cynthia Nance Peterson
(Signature)

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Robert L. Bullard
(Signature)

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Arthur W. Heintzelman

Katherine T. Heintzelman

(Signature)

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Ralph Winer Sterne

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Charlene Ann Hughes

(Signature)

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Harold L. Orbach
(Signature) Ann Arbor, Michigan

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James J. Flanigan
(Signature)

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Arthur L. Levi
(Signature)

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A. Bedford Fuller
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Ma de Freeman
(Signature)
Mrs. Hotchuck

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Donald J. Montgomery
(Signature)

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Rebecca J. Fourth
(Signature)
SP6, WA 8 204873

...can Embassy in your city on Wednesday, August 21, between 1 & 3 o'clock.

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Shirley Facey
(Signature)

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Jim Rae Emery
(Signature)

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Shelley Scott Essock
(Signature)

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Wallace & Mussy Graham
(Signature)

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Lane Bass
David Wallace
(Signature)

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Noel Howard
(Signature)

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Rita F. Aid (Mrs. Harry Aid)
(Signature)
17 rue Charles Laffite / Neuilly s/S

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Joseph Warfield
(Signature)

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Francis Leary
(Signature)

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ADVERTISEMENT

MARCH ON [illegible]HINGTON

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Francis E. Zapatka
(Signature)

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Stuart F. Rice
(Signature)

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Paul A Kabay

(Signature)

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MARCH ON WASHINGTON

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Irving Jaffe

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[illegible]

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Mr & Mrs Stephen Crumley
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Mo P. C. Shepard
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Jane A. Hingston
(Signature)

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Janet Parkes Hunt
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Daniel Thorner

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R. Michael Berry
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Walter Lyon
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Merritt Sargent
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Viola Hopkins (Dr.)
(Signature)
Hunter College of the City University of New York

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Nathan M. Riley
(Signature)
New York, N.Y. 10014

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Phoebe Thomas
(Signature)

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James L. Bowman

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Raymond Gilet

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Beatrice Douglas Latil
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Daniel Maeve
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Phyllis Feldkamp
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Jutta Schenck
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Richard L. Soffer M.D.
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Michael Klagsbrun
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Anthony Robbins
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Victoria Montain
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Elsa Yanover
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Richard Toney
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Roy + Diana Vagelos
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Edward Forgette
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F. Rex Ford Slauson

F. REXFORD SLAUSON 784 Columbus Ave.
New York 25, N.Y.

(Signature)

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Edward D. Hollander
Washington DC

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Lorraine J. Hollander
Washington, D.C.

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Judith Hollander, Washington, D.C.
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Clinton B King
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Altevia Edwards
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Billie Lyon
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Joanna Burstine
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Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Martine
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Nancy Hung Nunn
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Patricia Nikzyk
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Lora Friedman
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Debra Franco
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Lisa Lamott
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William L Brown
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Joseph D Downing
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Edward Albert Germain Los Angeles

Peter Albert Lyons San Francisco

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Joan M Engelstein

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Kathryn M. Larrieg
(Signature)

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Physician, practicing medicine formally in Paris from February, 1927, to January 1, 1957.

Theodore C. Merrill
(Signature)

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[illegible]

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Margaret Mead

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Dorothy de Berre
Glasgow Ohio

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Home address: 6 Beverly Rd. West Hartford 7, Connecticut

Richard Kopp

(Signature)

Hotel Elysées - Parlor

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Aaron Sheene (unesco)

(Signature)

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Helen Jerome Eddy

Carol Sherman

(Signature)

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Joseph Stein
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Peter Kurdoff (San Diego)
Ellen Shapiro (Virginia)
(Signature)

American students abroad

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Thomas Van Dyck
(Signature)

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Lucia White
Watson White
(Signature) Marguerite White

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Anne Morran

Adele R. Moskowitz
(Signature) Scarsdale, N.Y.

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Mrs. Marguerite L. Thinger
(Signature)

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Mr. Barney Diehold
c/o Hotel Nuevo Las Vegas
A L T E A (Alicante)
Espana

Barney W. Diehold
(Signature)

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ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

SUBJECT FILE March On Washington
Signed Support

1963

(2)

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HARRY HYDE JR
930 Academy Lane
Bryn Mawr, Pa
(Pa.-7th Congressional District)

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Harry Rein
Marian F. Rein
Cara Montgomery
(Signature)

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Nancy G. Stringer
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Zaidee Parkinson
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Hilme Lapanek, H.D., New York
Emil Rybarnick, Ed.D., New York
(Signature)

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Willie J. Holmes
(Signature)

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Schofield Coryell
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Leadie L. Pridell
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Joseph T. Bolsky
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Mr. & Mrs. Jack Poem
(Signature)

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Louise M. Esberg

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Willis Chase

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Mark E. Neckman
Lawrence E. Sears

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LA 15099

Carl Fields

CARL FIELDS

(Signature)

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Mrs. Robert Lawton

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Arthur S. Erbere
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Robert Sarular
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Brigitte Boyce
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Fred Peterson
(Signature)

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John H Wilson
(Signature)

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Sol Lindsay
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James R. Baldwin
(Signature)

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Jules Bricklin
(Signature)

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Muriel G. Garland
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Robert Farley S.J.
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685 E. 170th St
BRONX 56, N.Y.

Lelle Tisme
(Signature)

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Edith Thomas

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William T. Brauer

(Signature)

AIC U.S.A.F.

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Mrs. Mrs. Hazell Huffman

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Senior Ripley Copeland

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Sandy Carol Corty
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Maria Kruger
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Alan Redick
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Melvin Van Peebles

(Signature)

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Alon Fink

(Signature)

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President
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weekly Paris
th the government,
discuss the rising cost
d France's farm-surplus pr
with his ministers.

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Jean P. Weber

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Lita Bonneau
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Dr. and Mrs. Rudolph H. Pantell
(Signature)
Palo Alto, California

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Wolfe Kaufman
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Pietro Rovetti
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Marco Bevacqua
(Signature)

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Chester Himes
(Signature)

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Lorraine A. Woods
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Raymond J. Brown
(Signature)

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MARCH ON WASHINGTON

I, the undersigned, hereby publicly express my support of the March on Washington Movement, [redacted]

[redacted]

(Signature)

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Donald Sutherland

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John J. [illegible]
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Rudolph Wilson
Rosamond Wilson
Zelma Wilson
Rebecca Wilson
(Signature)

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Bill Bricken & Charles Bricken
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James T. Beal
(Signature)

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Laya Kurtz
Maurice Kurtz
(Signature)

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R. Kodary
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Gordon Kelm Jackins
passport #(Signature) D198232

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Irwin Winston
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Simon A. de Bruler
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Herbert S. Parmet

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Arthur B. Lane

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Lloyd Horowitz
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Camille L. Otto
Margaret A. Creaser.

(Signature)

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Frances Dick
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Sylvia Tamburlini

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Rome, Aug 21 1963

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(Mrs.) Daisy Petitz
(Signature)

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Dennis H. Duckett
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William T. Oldrison
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Jay McCrea
(Signature)

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Via Triomphale 6415 Rome
August 21/1962.

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Grace A. Lorenzo
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Bernice Finkelstein
(Signature)

A group of Americans in Paris, who sponsored this paid announcement, invites you to present this at the American Embassy in your city on Wednesday, August 21, between 1 and 3 o'clock.

MARCH ON WASHINGTON

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Barrie Stavis
(Signature)

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Richard J. Doolittle
Theresa A. Doolittle
(Signature)

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Boris Goldick
(Signature)

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ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

SUBJECT FILE

March On Washington
Signed support

1963

(3)

MARCH ON WASHINGTON

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David McCoy
(Signature)

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Willie Lillian
(Signature)

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Leonil Bloom
(Signature)

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00457

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Ron Sadlerson
(Signature)

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Berresford Hayward
(Signature)

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Beatrice W. Langford
(Signature)

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Ruth Hayward
(Signature)

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Rebecca Hayward
(Signature)

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Sherry Kraus
(Signature)

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Henry E. Montague

(Signature)

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Jacques Gaslow

(Signature)

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Thomas E. Jones

(Signature)

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00460

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Oscar Moss
(Signature)

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Mrs Carol W. Schwarz
(Signature)

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Elizabeth Buckley
(Signature)

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Margaret Ayer

(Signature)

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RICHARD PETERSON (Signature)

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Jefferson Chase
(Signature)

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Lawrence R. Rose
(Signature)

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Fred Zinnemann
(Signature)
(HOTEL ELYSEE PARK)

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John Ridge Emery III
(Signature)

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Arthur D. Rosenberg
(Signature)

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MARCH ON WASHINGTON

I, the undersigned, as an American citizen, hereby publicly express my support of the March on Washington Movement, (in) SUPPORT OF PRES. Kennedy's [illegible]
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Edmore Boris
(Signature)

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000464

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Charles H. Smith, II

(Signature)

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J. Hazlewood

(Signature)

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Elaine Washburn Rogers

Elaine Washburn Rogers

(Signature)

Great-grandfather Ebenezer Knox of Amesbury, first soldier from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts to fal in the Civil War.

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Madame Claude Dauphin

(Signature)

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00466

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[redacted]

(Signature)

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Lee David Hanson
Frankfurt/M. - Germany
Stadtwaldstrasse 1

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Langston Hughes
(Signature)

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Herman Scruggs
(Signature)

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[redacted] Arthur Fagan
(Signature)
[redacted]

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100460

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Brigitte Overbye
(Signature)
Danemark

Present this at the American Embassy in your city on Wednesday, August 21, between 1 and 3 o'clock.

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I, the undersigned, as an FRENCH *citizen, hereby publicly express my support of the March on Washington Movement, which aspires not only to eradicate all racial barriers in American life but to liberate all Americans from the prison of their biases and fears. I cannot physically participate in this March, but I, like the rest of the world, have been tremendously stirred by so disciplined an exhibition of dignity and courage and persistence and would like to associate myself with it.*

A.M Rotta-Noclan
54 AVENUE D'IENA XVIe
(Signature)
PARIS

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Konrad V Thomas
(Signature)
211 rue de l'université
PARIS
Allwood Rd. DARIEN CONN. USA

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100469

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Frank R. Quinn
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Mrs Roberta Lee
(Signature)

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B. J. Jones
(Signature)

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J. B. J. Dr.

(Signature)

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Colbert Gould

(Signature)

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Charles W. Lee

(Signature)

10047/1

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Robert Rubenstein, M.D.
Anne Rubenstein

(Signature)

Bayberry Lane
Hamden, Connecticut

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J Keville Le Gros
Jeanne Le Gros

(Signature)

Mr & Mrs J KEVILLE LE GROS

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Marc Bolan

(Signature)

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00412

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Imogene Hoodley
(Signature)

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Shirley Williams
(Signature)

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[redacted] Leonard Stewart
(Signature)
[redacted]

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00473

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Bert Rolfe
Marilyn Rolfe Etzel
(Signature)

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George H Bass
(Signature)

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MARCH ON WASHINGTON

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(Mrs) Elizabeth Dorn
(Signature)

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00474

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Suzanne Fox
187 Bd. St. Germain, Paris 7
Linda Stephens
Massillon, Ohio
[illegible] New York City
Rochelle Zeisman
Massillon, Ohio (Signature)
[illegible]
[illegible], Oberlin, Ohio

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Ron Jefferson
(Signature)

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[redacted]
Edna Cowan
(Signature)

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[redacted] Beatrice Carter
(Signature)

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James E. Turner
(Signature)

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Willie J. Baldwin
(Signature)

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0004/C

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Pauley Jaffe

(Signature)

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Mary G. Hundley

(Signature)

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Rebecca Hunter

(Signature)

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Jean M. Hooker
(Signature)

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John Burke Clark
(Signature)

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T. A. Hawker
(Signature)

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Russell M. Jones
(Signature)

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Judith Dugan
(Signature)

Present this at the American Embassy in your city on Wednesday, August 21, between 1 and 3 o'clock.

MARCH ON WASHINGTON

BRITISH

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M. J. Mabes
(Signature)

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Alan Dugan

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Pearl B. Stewart

(Signature)

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0 0 4 8 0

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Diane J. Stewart
(Signature)

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Mark C. Chase
(Signature)

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Mary Eleanor Larson
(Signature)

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LALY PATRICK.

(Signature)

no 255

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(Signature)

MILTON MEZROW

297683

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000482

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William L. Walker
(Signature)

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MARCH ON WASHINGTON

CEYLONESE

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M Jayesekere
(Signature)

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Hilaire Hiler
(Signature)

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Emanuel Fidel

(Signature)

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Jacques de Suze

(Signature) U.S.A.

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Gregg L. Blackburn

(Signature)

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Robert H. Johnson
(Signature)
Chattanooga

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Emelie Sinnha

(Signature)

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The Rev. George B. Laurent

(Signature)

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Herbert A. Binder

(Signature)

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00488

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Richard C. Steere
(Signature)

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Donna Hull
(Signature)

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Janice L. Wells
(Signature)

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Linda Leeds
(Signature)

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Michael Ackerman
(Signature)
Stage Manager,
New York Pro Musica

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Henry Brach
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Pamela Beach

(Signature)

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Nichelle Thomas

(Signature)

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Miss Natalie Netchaiff
(Signature)

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Vladimir Malama
(Signature)

V.V. MALAMA
ROCKFORD, ILLINOIS, USA.

Present this at the American Embassy in your city on Wednesday, August 21, between 1 and 3 o'clock.

Rec'd Aug 19 2:45 p.m. He'll be out of town Wed.

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Gustave Falk
(Signature)

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Shelley Markham
(Signature)

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Corinne Wolfe
(Signature)

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Hilaire Hiler, Jr.
(Signature)

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Eugene Jones

(Signature)

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I am [illegible]

Andrew Mollel

(Signature)

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Betti Carter

(Signature)

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James L. Baker
(Signature)

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MARCH ON WASHINGTON

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P. Francis
(Signature)

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Paulette Ladd
(Signature)

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00493

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Alexandre T. Shedlovsky
(Signature)

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Robert Blagsland
Robert (Signature)
U.S.A.F

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Theodore R. Borden Jr.
(Signature)

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Jamie Faggett
(Signature)

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Myron Chenowith
(Signature)

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Sandra Smith
(Signature)

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100495

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Theron Fiedman
(Signature)

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Lorenzo Hall
(Signature)

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Jennifer L. Robbins
(Signature)
(Mrs. Anthony W.)

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00049c

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Edwards Fiske
(Signature)

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Hope Flatball
(Signature)

Present this at the American Embassy in your city on Wednesday, August 21, between 1 and 3 o'clock.

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

SUBJECT FILE March On Washington
Signed Support

1963

(4)

MARCH ON WASHINGTON

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Georgia Sherman
(Signature)
3 Dana Street
Cambridge 38, Mass.

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Eleanor Clarkson Hill
(Signature)

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Brian Salvatore
(Signature)

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000495

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Louise Lazarus
(Signature)
Lucile Armistead

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Frank Thomas
(Signature)
736th Combat Support Group
Chaumont AB, FRANCE

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James H. Webster
William Broadshaw
(Signature)
Charles K. Brown

Present this at the American Embassy in your city on Wednesday, August 21, between 1 and 3 o'clock.

000500

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Eunice H. Carter
(Signature)

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Mr. & Mrs. John H. Palmer
(Signature)
Metz, France

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Richard E. Slinger
(Signature)

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000501

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Mr. Sumner G. Miller
c/o Bar Nunez Las Vegas
A L T E A (Alicante
Espana

Sumner G. Miller
(Signature)

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I would like to associate myself, if I could as French citizen

Boris Tankelovitch
123 av. Montjoie
Bruxelles, B
(a modest admirer of American people)
(Signature)

Present this at the American Embassy in your city on Wednesday, August 21, between 1 and 3 o'clock. and of

New York Herald Tribune

MARCH ON WASHINGTON

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Harry Keuh
(Signature)

Present this at the American Embassy in your city on Wednesday, August 21, between 1 and 3 o'clock.

000502

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Harriet Frankel
(Signature)

Present this at the American Embassy in your city on Wednesday, August 21, between 1 and 8 o'clock.

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Paul Strand
Hazel Strand
(Signature)

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Ernest H. Gilligan
(Signature)
Auburn
California

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000503

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Jesse B. Hilliard
(Signature)
Auburn, California

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Sue Gates
(Signature)

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Marjorie R. Parks
(Signature)

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Christopher Hayward
(Signature)

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Norman Talbot
(Signature)

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James Wise
(Signature)

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Mr. + Mrs. Joe Stein + Family
(Signature)

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William Fredberg
(Signature)

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00050c

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Mrs Hope Friedberg
(Signature)

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Clair P. Barrett
C.L. Rapp
Geo Barrett
Patrick Barrett
(Signature)

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James M. Abel
(Signature)

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000507

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Barbara H. Campbell
(Signature)
1572 Mass Ave
Cambridge 38, Mass

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Larry Blythe
Harold O. Cabute
Mrs. Harold O. Cabute
10822 Reseda Blvd
Northridge, Calif
(Signature)
10822 Reseda Blvd
Northridge, Calif

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I sign with pride as an human.

Jun Lee Apiti
(Signature)
Beverly Hills - Calif

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100508

MARCH ON WASHINGTON

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Sylvia E. Crane
(Signature)
(Mrs. John D. Crane)

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Eleanor P. Spencer
(Signature)

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Jane Pulaski
(Signature)

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Mitri Cu Liffe

(Signature)

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N.L. AMPHOUX

(Signature)

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Mrs. Mrs. Grossman

(Signature)

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00510

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[redacted]
(Signature)

[redacted]

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Laura Guggenheim
(Signature)

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Joel W. Bronner
(Signature)

Present this at the American Embassy in your city on Wednesday, August 21, between 1 and 3 o'clock.

00511

BRICK TOP —
ROMA ITALY.
155 VIA VENETO

[redacted]

AMERICAN EMBASSY.
ROMA ITALY.
VIA VENETO.

IMPORTANT

MARCH ON WASHINGTON

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M. Doem Boner

(Signature)

Present this at the American Embassy in your city on Wednesday, August 21, between 1 and 3 o'clock.

MARCH ON WASHINGTON

WE the undersigned, as ~~an~~ American citizens, hereby publicly express ~~my~~ our support of the March on Washington Movement, which aspires not only to eradicate all racial barriers in American life but to liberate all Americans from the prison of their biases and fears. WE cannot physically participate in this March, but ~~I~~ we, like the rest of the world, have been tremendously stirred by so disciplined an exhibition of dignity and courage and persistence and would like to associate ~~myself~~ ourselves with it.

Frank K. Sheffield
Helen Brooks Wise
Anna Wise

(Signatures)

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Stuart McCarty II

(Signature)

Present this at the American Embassy in your city on Wednesday, August 21, between 1 and 3 o'clock.

000513

MARCH ON WASHINGTON

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Milton H. Meserson
(Signature)

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I hope this march proves to people all over the world that every human being is born with equal rights and it is only when a person individually shows that he is incapable of using these rights that they should be denied.

Meredith Arlington
(Signature)

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Stanley Cohen
(Signature)

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Ray W. Teeuwissen

(Signature)

(Rev.) Ray W. Teeuwissen

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Elizabeth S. Jackson

(Signature)

Present this at the American Embassy in your city on Wednesday, August 21, between 1 and 3 o'clock.

FALLES

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Antoinette Jackson

(Signature)

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Revs. John J. King O.M.I.
Rev. William T. Rinehart
(Signature)

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Claudeanne Lee Kennedy
3 Rue Chardin
Paris, XVI
(Signature)

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Joseph P. Lacey
(Signature)

Present this at the American Embassy in your city on Wednesday, August 21, between 1 and 3 o'clock.

00051C

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Edwin Coate
(Signature)

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Helena H. Coate
(Signature)
185 West End Ave
New York City

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(Signature)

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Mona Tuyley

(Signature)

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Melvyn D. Baca

(Signature)

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Joan Ryan

(Signature)

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00051 8

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Ralph Mantein
(Signature)

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Jane Glassman
(Signature)

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Phyllis Middlebrooks
(Signature)

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Jerry Turner
(Signature)

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Lydia Miner
(Signature)

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Stanley Scott
(Signature)

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100520

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Eileen Geist

(Signature)

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Emil J. Cado

(Signature)

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100521

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Rube Bradel

(Signature)

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Leonard Radlo

(Signature)

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Paul G. DeRosey

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Lou Smith

(Signature)

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Joseph A. Boone

(Signature)

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Johanna Lawrenson

(Signature)

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Normare Rubington
(Signature)

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Ruth E. Hatfield
(Signature)

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Julian C. Hartfill
(Signature)

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00525

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Elmer Mire

(Signature)

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100527

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[redacted]

(Signature)

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Walter S. Carter

(Signature)

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Paul Zweig

(Signature)

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Jonathan Siehl
(Signature)

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Warren Katz
(Signature)

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Steve Wolk
(Signature)

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000529

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Jonathan Liebl
(Signature)

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Steve Wolf
(Signature)

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100550

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Jeffrey Kaylord N.Y.
(Signature)

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Jim MacGregor
(Signature)

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Eleanor Ensinger
(Signature)

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100531

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Lacey Fosbrick
(Signature)

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Rayna R. Kleiman
Stanley Kleiman
(Signature)

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MARCH ON WASHINGTON

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Judy Anne Parker
(Signature)

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100552

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Hyman Yanowitz
(Signature)

PASSPORT NO.
Z 212636 Hyman YANOWITZ

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(Signature)
EDWARD MEDART
passport Z 212793

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Flora V. Tyler
(Signature)

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Eugenia F. [illegible]
(Signature)

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Lydie G Pintner
(Signature)

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00554

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Susan R. Playfair
(Signature)

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Donald V. Hall
(Signature)

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John M. Thorpe
(Signature)

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Hazel Ferguson

(Signature)

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Venus
(Signature)

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Gail Verbit
(Signature)

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Patricia Wynn
(Signature)

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Isabel L. Morrow
(Signature)
(California)

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Edward Earl Pence
(Signature)
Assoc. Professor
The City University, New York

Present this at the American Embassy in your city on Wednesday, August 21, between 1 and 3 o'clock.

Herald-Tribune (Paris Edition) - August 19, 1963

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Conny Campbell
(Signature)

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00558

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John Campbell
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Troy Gourley
(Signature)

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Mr. & Mrs. Ernest R. Lee
(Signature)
Phila. Pa.

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000559

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Mrs. Kenneth Arnspiger
(Signature)

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Kenneth R. Arnspiger
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Vanessa Swift King
(Signature)

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0 0 0 5 4 0

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Harry E. Amspoker
(Signature)

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Lawrence Jones
(Signature)

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000541

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

SUBJECT FILE March On Washington Signed Support

1963

(67)

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Kay Cordry
(Signature)

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Fred Flatman
(Signature)

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Christine M. Mundy

(Signature)

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Carol M. Mungar

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Johnny Griffin

(Signature)

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Weir M. Brown
(Signature)

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Barbara Sargent
(Mrs. Martin Sargent)

(Signature)

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Martin Sargent
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Dan Edward L. Dabney
(Signature)

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Paolo Ercmi Nancy Fish
(Signature)

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John S. Alioto
(Signature)

Florence, Italy

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Janice Rubinowitz
(Signature)

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Barbara K. Ligon
(Signature)

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Mr and Mrs Charles Boggs
9, rue de la Procession Paris 15

Brigitte Boggs
(Signature)
Charles Boggs

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William B Dyer
(Signature)

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Richard T. Javert
(Signature)

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H. Lombaw

(Signature)

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Vivian B. Brown

(Signature)

(Mrs. Wm. M. Brown)

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Judith Trenkle

(Signature)

Mrs. J. Trenkle
12bis rue du Val-de-Grâce
Paris -5e

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00550

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Arlinda Davis
(Signature)

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Richard Irvine
(Signature)

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Elizabeth Deany
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Cynthia Frazier
(Signature)

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MARCH ON WASHINGTON

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Joseph B Patti
(Signature)

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Mrs. J. P. Carter
(Signature)

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100552

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Douglas B. Lyons
(Signature)

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Doris Duckel
(Signature)
22 Rue Durel, Paris
188 Elmwood Ave. Cheshire, Conn.

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Margaret J. Brown
(Signature)

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00553

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S. F. Higgins
(Signature)

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Patricia Crawford
(Signature)

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Mortimer B. Blackman
(Signature)

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Mrs. Lynne K. Madison
(Signature)
(LYNNE K. MADISON)

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Howard D. Langford
(Signature)

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John Hoover
(Signature)

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Robert Trent Jones
(Signature)

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Marjorie Smith
(Signature)

000556

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Joseph H. Hollander
(Signature)

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Inez E. Fox
(Signature)

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Mrs. Mrs. William E. Hedges
(Signature)

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Elmer E. Lloyd
(Signature)
N.Y.

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Louis Meadows
(Signature)

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Elizabeth Mass
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Mae Mercer
(Signature)

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James B. Lane
(Signature)

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Hilda E. Gray
(Signature)

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Frederick Friedman
(Signature)

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Frank K Totten
(Signature)

FRANK Totten
Passport #D454569

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Mary Jane Lupton
(Signature)

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Howard Swanson
(Signature)

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Patricia A. Dolan
(Signature)

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Danny L. Dolan
(Signature)

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Lloyd Frankenberg
(Signature)

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Loren MacIver
(Signature)

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E. Wood

(Signature)

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Arthur Eugene Simmons

(Signature)

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MERCEDES Patrick

Mercedes Patrick

(Signature)

Pasadena 253

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100564

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PATRICK CÉLIANE

(Signature)

Poissy Oise

Present this at the American Embassy in your city on Wednesday, August 21, between 1 and 3 o'clock.

Pass Porte

no 954

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H. Turner

(Signature)

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SIMON Yvette
Paris XVII

(Signature)

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Lindois Michelin -
Paris - XI:

(Signature)

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(Signature)

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000566

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I, the undersigned, as an ~~American~~ Swedish citizen, hereby publicly express my support of the March on Washington Movement, which aspires not only to eradicate all racial barriers in American life but to liberate all Americans from the prison of their biases and fears. I cannot physically participate in this March, but I, like the rest of the world, have been tremendously stirred by so disciplined an exhibition of dignity and courage and persistence and would like to associate myself with it.

Rolf Friberg (Sweden)
(Signature)

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Joe Turner U.S.A.
(Signature)

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100567

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0399078

Nella K. Meyer
(Signature)

NELLA MEYER

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Harry R. Mayor
(Signature)

Los Angeles

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James W. Williams
(Signature)

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Memphis Slim
(Signature)
U.S.A.

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Percy J. Doss, Jr.
Sgt. (Signature)
HQ Comd, USA ELM, SHAPE
APO 55, New York, N.Y.

Present this at the American Embassy in your city on Wednesday, August 21, between 1 and 3 o'clock.

100569

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Marion Gair
(Signature)

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Diane Lacey
(Signature)

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PRISCILLA M. DUDLEY
(Signature)
17699731
(AMERICAN)

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0005 7 0

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Baby Gonzales
(Signature)

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MARCH ON WASHINGTON

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Mason Hoffenberg
(Signature)

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Barbara Blasko
(Signature)

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10057/1

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W. J. Taylor

(Signature)

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Jacqueline Goldman

(Signature)

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MARCH ON WASHINGTON

[redacted] the undersigned, as [redacted] American citizen[redacted] hereby publicly express [redacted] support of the March on Washington Movement, [redacted]

K. L. O'Brien

Barbara W. O'Brien

Lois Williams

(Signatures)

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0005/2

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Mrs. Judith H. Marie
(Signature)
40 avenue A. de Musset
Le Vésinet (S. & O.)
France

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Milton Williams
(Signature)
A/1C USAF

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Michael Harrington
(Signature)

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000573

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David Hunt

(Signature)

Michael D. Moore

Michael J. Hussey

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Carolyn Gustafson

(Signature)

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Steven Vas

(Signature)

(STEVEN VAS)

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005 / 4

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Levy Lopes

(Signature)

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J M Azoulay

(Signature)

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ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

SUBJECT FILE March On Washington Signed Support

1963

(6)

MARCH ON WASHINGTON

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Thomas Gartner
(Signature)

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John M. Crist
(Signature)

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Steven Shewitt
(Signature)

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0005 7 7

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Donald A. Block
(Signature)

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Marion Zdenko
(Signature)

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Pricla Abraham
(Signature)

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0005779

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000580

TRIB. Aug 20, 1963

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Peter J. Pringle
Pauline Reed
David Baskin
(Signature)

(PARIS)

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John Ashell Lewis
(Signature)

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Gertrude Neher
(Signature)

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100581

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Adeline Hardy
(Signature)

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John Everts
(Signature)

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Julia B. Mosley
(Signature)

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0 0 0 5 8 3

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Carla S Phillips
(Signature)

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Josephine Phillips
(Signature)

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Irma Lavrat Kachadoorian
Zubel Kachadoorian
(Signature)

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000584

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Irma Cavert Kachadoorian
Zubel Kachadoorian
(Signature)

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Ernest R Pisonke
(Signature)

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William F. Coggeshall
(Signature)
New York City A.C.S.W

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Lucille C. Lung
(Signature)
Detroit, Michigan

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100586

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Milton Zagorski
(Signature)
Ellen Zagorski

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Patricia Mooney
(Signature)
63 W. 13 St. Apt 8
NYC 23, NY

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Francis E. Nugent
(Signature)
193 School St.
Oyster Bay, New York

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000587

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Peter Prutz
Carolyn Bernard
(Signature)

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Alvin Rosenman
Troy Nerney
Kay Rosenman
(Signature)

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Rosalie Roberts
(Signature)

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Bridget L. Guided

(Signature)

Bridget Steiner
Hans L. Steiner

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Anthony A. Robert

(Signature)

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Luke Harrington

(Signature)

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Donald Strasser
(Signature)

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Kenneth B. Clark
(Signature)

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Ronald Ballard
(Signature)
(RONALD BALLARD.)

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000590

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Mamie Phipps Clark
(Signature)

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Mr & Mrs. Paul E. Harris
(Signature)

Present this at the American Embassy in your city on Wednesday, August 21, between 1 and 3 o'clock.

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Irma Dean Högström N.Y.
Eugene Chenzoe NY

(Signature)

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000591

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Margaret Wallace
100 [illegible] St. N.
Charles Burkhead
(Signature)
1349 [illegible]ington Ave, N[illegible]

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Brick Top
(Signature)
155 VIA VENETO
BRICK TOPS
ROMA ITALY

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Frank Van Riddle
(Signature)

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Alan Wallace

(Signature)

MARCH ON WASHINGTON

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J. J. Hanlin

(Signature)

J. J. Hanlin

Present this at the American Embassy in your city on Wednesday, August 21, between 1 and 3 o'clock.

A251 FW VIENNA EHT OPE
8-23-63 GT2

MARCH ON WASHINGTON

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William Satori

(Signature)

William Satori,
at present in Vienna, Austria
temporary : I., Zedlitzgasse 11/19

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000593

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George Michael David Blake
(Signature)

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(Signature)
Hook Chk, Cal
4-5-4

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L. B. Weather Ed Jewel
(Signature)

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000594

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Phillip A. Thompson
(Signature)

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Robert P. Lewis
(Signature)

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Nelson Edwards
(Signature)
6344 - 30th st
Detroit 16 Mich

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000595

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Howard [illegible]
(Signature)
128 Rue d. Deux Eglises
Brussels, Bel.

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Elaine Kahn
(Signature)

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Dennis L. Cohen
(Signature)

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Marjory Heyman
(Signature)

Present this at the American Embassy in your city on Wednesday, August 21, between 1 and 3 o'clock.

100596

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

SUBJECT FILE March On Washington signed Support

1963

(7)

Garrett
Theological Seminary
2121 SHERIDAN ROAD—EVANSTON, ILLINOIS
telephone 864-4205

ROCKWELL C. SMITH
Rural Church Administration and Sociology
Dean of Students

AUG. 21, 1963
PARIS

AMBASSADOR CHARLES E. BOHLEN

HONORED SIR:

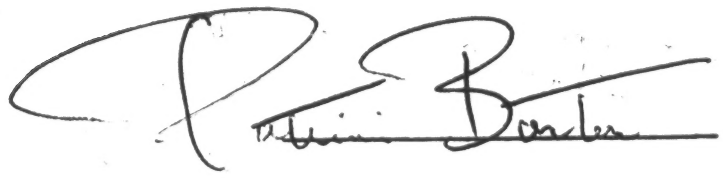
THE AMERICAN CITIZENS WHO HAVE SIGNED BELOW WISH TO INDICATE TO PRESIDENT KENNEDY THROUGH YOUR GOOD OFFICES OUR SUPPORT OF THE OBJECTIVES OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MARCH ON WASHINGTON. WE UNDERSTAND THESE OBJECTIVES TO INVOLVE THE MAKING OF POLITICAL, SOCIAL, EDUCATIONAL, ECONOMIC AND RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES AND INSTITUTIONS EQUALLY AVAILABLE TO ALL AMERICANS REGARDLESS OF RACE OR COLOR.

RESPECTFULLY AND SINCERELY,

Rockwell C. Smith, 823 Clinton Place, Evanston, Illinois
M. E. Weston, 214 W. Anthony, Corydon, Iowa
Mary Lou Cobb, 504 E. Detroit, Broken Arrow, Oklahoma

MARCH ON WASHINGTON

I, the undersigned, as an American citizen, hereby express my support of the March on Washington Movement and the Civil Rights Bill.



MARCH ON WASHINGTON

I, the undersigned, as an American citizen, hereby express my support of the March on Washington Movement and the Civil Rights Bill.

Joe L. Barton Jr.

INDICATIONS DE SERVICE
DIENSTAANWIJZINGEN

ELT } Télégramme-lettre
LT } Brieftelegram

R.P. } Réponse payée
Antwoord betaald

REGIE DES TELEGRAPHES ET DES TELEPHONES

TELEGRAMME
TELEGRAM

REGIE VAN TELEGRAAF EN TELEFOON

AUTG

Timbre à date du bureau d'arrivée
Datumstempel van het kantoor van aankomst

BRUXELLES (C)
29 VIII 1963 T
BRUSSEL (C)

Heure d'arrivée
Uur van aankomst

AMBASSADE DES ETATS UNIS 27
BD DU REGENT BRUXELLES1 =

Indications à rappeler en cas de demande de renseignements. — Aanduidingen op te geven in geval van vraag om inlichtingen.

Bureau d'origine / Kantoor van afzending	Numéro / Nummer	Nombre de mots / Woordental	Date (évent.) / Datum (event.)	Heure de dépôt / Uur van afgifte	VIA
CHAUMONT GISTOUX	01430	17/16	29	1040 =	

PARTICIPE MORALEMENT MARCHE ANTISEGREGATIONNISTE WASCHINGTON =

JEAN CORDIER =

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EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
AUG 28 1963
BRUSSELS

LABRIS
literary magazine.

to the American Ambassador
in Belgium
American Embassy
BRUSSELS.

Concerning March On Washington
28.8.63

Dear Sir,

We, the undersigned, as Flemish authors, hereby declare our solidarity with the Black People of the U.S.A. which aspires not only to eradicate all racial barriers in American life but to liberate all Americans from the prison of their dirty racial discrimination-feelings.
Segregation is a morbid spot on the so-called standard of the Free World. We can't physically participate in the honest and dignified fight of the Black People of the U.S.A. but with this notice we would like to associate ourselves with the freedom-loving Negroes.

Signatures:

max kazan
statiestraat I9
balen-neet

marcel van maele
broechemsteenweg I0
emblem(beer)

ive vroom
begijnhofstraat 60
lier

As a whole-hearted British sympathizer with the civil rights campaign, I join with my support.

Anne J. Dansorogh

August 21 1913

Paris

MARCH ON WASHINGTON

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P S Ryan

(Signature)

28 August 1963

His Honor the Ambassador of the
United States of America
Douglas MacArthur 11

Dear Mr. Ambassador,

We, the undersigned, hereby publicly express our support of the March-on-Washington movement, which aspires not only to eradicate all racial barriers in American life but to liberate all Americans from the prison of their biases and fears.

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(1) Alice Babbit
Alice Babbit

(2) Beverly Kantrowitz
Beverly Kantrowitz

(3) Michael Phillips
Michael Phillips

Students at Louvain Univ.

Petition rec'd by Embassy receptionist 1:30 PM 28 AUG

August 28 1963.

We have signed the above in the name of millions of people from all countries; in accord with the people of the United States of America who are fighting for integration.

In the hope that this small petition is met with understanding - Sincerely.

Lee Strasberg. Pierre Balraz.

Alan Schneider

JEAN JOUCHMANS.
SANDOR VIDA.
URSULA BINIAS.
DERROLL ADAMS.
JACQUES VANDENSANDE.
S. BOCKIAN.
ALEX AUBRY.
LEFEVRE J. P.
LE BALLY JULIA.
PULS JEANINE.
FELIX MARC.
LAPLACE PAUL.
VAN DE WEGHE.
ROSE MARIE SCHLIRF.
GERARD SCHLIRF
JEAN CHARLES MATOT
H. G MEEZE

LINDA DREW.
LES BRIDGES.
STEEL RAMAGLR.
AMIEE BODINAS.
LOUIS LEMGLET.
NOBLE DREW.
CARRY SANDLER.
HELEN SANDLER.
STANLEY SANDLER.
MARTIN CARTHY.
REED SULLIVAN.
ANNE BRIGGS.
JERRY COUCHRAN.
ROYD RIVERS.
KIM JOHNSON.
TED WENHAM.
JASPER WHITE.
ELLA WHITE.
DOROTHY WHENHAN.

ELIZABETH LEAHY
JOHN CORRIER
MARGARE HEWIT
PAUL LEXAHANN.
RICHARD HEDICARR.
AXEL NYEE,
JOHN SCHROEDER
COLIN SCHORDER
SYDNEY CARTER
CY GRANT
ANTHEA GRANT.
JULLIAN COOK.
VINCENT ADAMS.
CATHERINE ADAMS.
ERIC WINTERS.
COLIN WILKIE.
SANDRA LOWRY.
LARRY CRABBE.
GREGGORIO ADAMS.

We have signed the above in the name of millions of people, from all countries in accord with the people of the United States who are fighting for racial integration

To: Mr. Merritt N. Cootes
Consul General of The United States of America
Florence, Italy

For: The Honorable G. Frederick Reinhardt
American Ambassador, Rome

We, the undersigned, as American citizens, hereby publicly express our support of the March on Washington Movement, which aspires not only to eradicate all racial barriers in American life but to liberate all Americans from the prison of their biases and fears. We cannot physically participate in this March, but we; like the rest of the world, have been tremendously stirred by so disciplined an exhibition of dignity and courage and persistence and would like to associate ourselves with it:

Sam Sverdloff	18 W. 10th St. New York, N.Y.
Deborah Brodt	70 Dahill Pl. Brooklyn, N.Y.
Howard Williams	Anchorage, Alaska
Bert I. Spunzer	Boston, Mass
Gus Tsivisbos	Cleveland, Ohio
Paul Bernard	Rowayton, Conn
Edward S. Jones	Bloomington - Ill.
Donald S. Frank	Springfield - Ill.
Mary Ellen Frank	"
Elizabeth Janet Pearson	London, England
Victor Stanley, rector, St. James American Episcopal Church, Florence, Italy	
Marilyn Purcell	New Jersey - Trinity
Ilse Schacht	SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF - (11)
Jane Schubert	"
John J. Berg	287 Lefferts Av. Brooklyn 25, N.Y.
Rose Kurtz	33 Ampere Place East Orange N.J.
Maria McCullen	280 Argyle Rd. Brooklyn
Elaine Kahn	U. of California, Berkeley
Gary Breaker	Los Angeles, Calif
Judith Wolfe	New York, N.Y.

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Consul General of The United States of America
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Peter Fuerstoff — 18 West 10th Street, New York 11, N.Y.
Christopher Hawley 523 E Chestnut St. Oxford O.
Dr. + Mrs. W. Rosenblum 95 Lexington Ave New York 16, N.Y.
Michael Ross New York City
Louise Cattoi Milwaukee, Wis.
Paul Deis Dallas, Tex.
David Winn Dallas, Tex
Muscal Wilson Dallas, Texas
Inge Klimpt New York, N.Y.
Rebecca Friedman Brooklyn, New York
Richard Friedman Brooklyn, New York
Israel Fuchs Brooklyn, N.Y.
Edward Cattinian Pawtucket R.I.
Frederick Boedier Chicago Illinois
Robert Sanders Shaker Heights Ohio
Beverly Bartenheimer New York N.Y.
Alice E. Lipsker New York, NY

17

John F. VandeGraaff	Lexington, Mass
Joe Weitzman	Hicksville N.Y.
Gerry Weitzman	Hicksville, N.Y.
Richard M. Koffler	Philadelphia, Pa.
Margaret H. Snow	Sarasota, Florida
Doug L. Stern	Ft. Atkinson, Wis.
Ed Wierzynski	Warren, Ohio
Lydia Kogan	San Francisco, California
Antonia Clare Ognes	New York, New York
Lois M Jones	Washington D.C.
Jacqueline L. Hofland	N. C.
Edward Goldstein	New York, New York
Nina Leicht	New York, New York
Harriet Rosenzweig	St. Paul, Minnesota
Sara Katelson	West Orange, New Jersey
Sam Spivack	Hillside, New Jersey
Rosalynd Friedman	Lawrence, N.Y.
Stephen Grace	Fairfield, Conn.
Cathie M. Morris	Great Neck, New York
[illegible]	Phila. Pa.
Adrienne Diben	Boston, Massachusetts
Erika P. Lohr	New York, New York
Niki Rosen	New York City
[illegible]	STOCKTON CALIFORNIA
Lois Snyder	Manchester, N.H.
[illegible]	Oshkosh, Wis.

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Consul General of The United States of America
Florence, Italy

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Mrs. Blume Lovenoff 18 West 10 Street. N.Y.C. N.Y.
Valerie A. Earle 4220 43rd St N.W. Washington
David H. Muchnikin 2346 Lynn Pk. Dr. Toledo 15, Ohio
Gary C. Johnson 2203 W. Hoyt Ave. St. Paul 8, Minn.
Benet Kolmann, 113 Greenacres, Brevard, North Carolina
Bess Laramie Wyoming
Anne L. Marder Mt. Vernon, New York
William D. Hawley, Oxford, Ohio, USA
Peter S. Hawley " " "
Pearlie M. Glenford - Milwaukee, Wisconsin
Bessie Ella - Milwaukee, Wisconsin
M. M. Goate Boston Mass
Delores Koedendorfer Fort Collins, Colo.
F. A. Lenox Tripoli, Libya
Sinclair Behrens Natanya Israel
Alma A. Marks Bellanglo, Ill
Harry Hawley Rowayton, Conn.
Olivia Banks Cambridge, Mass.

(18)

Susan Waltz	Glenview, Ill.
Shirley Taylor	San Mateo, California
Jane Williams	Watertown, Mass.
Herbert Garelick	New York, New York
Frances Garelick	New York, New York
G. Gahagan	Binghamton, N.Y.
Arthur Bressler	Stamford, Conn.
Katherine Vigliones	Cliffwood, N.J.
Marjory Heyman	Chicago, Ill
Joanne Bridges	New York City, New York
Martha E. Schrader	Saint Paul, Minnesota
Virginia Ramm	Seattle, Washington
Christina Mary	Long Beach, California
Penny Thomas	Long Beach 15, California
EARL BURROWS	Via reggio resident

MARCH ON WASHINGTON

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_____
(Signature)

A group of Americans in Paris, who sponsored this paid announcement, invite you to present this at the American Embassy in your city on Wednesday, August 21, between 1 and 3 o'clock.

E. S. Shaw
Lloyd
Bob Walker
Edward W. Claire
Dexter Louie
Leah Johnson
Art Scicroni
Robert Cox Brig.
Connie Henry Army.
Carol Ann Pekowski
Betty Kay Schmidt
Lillian Lacher
Susan Lebeh
Douglas E. Hall
Linda L. Naimy

Karen Heskitt
Doug McNiel
Jack Power
Carol Branstein
Jon A Kay
Larry Weitzel
Dorene Warner Idaho
Betsy Wright
C. R. Hastings
Marjorie Pettit
John C. Clark
Stephen D. Newman
John Bryan Ore
Fanny Farner

American Students in Florence

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Suzanne Schell

Suzanne Schell

REGIE DES TELEGRAPHES ET DES TELEPHONES

TELEGRAMME
TELEGRAM

REGIE VAN TELEGRAAF EN TELEFOON

INDICATIONS DE SERVICE
DIENSTAANWIJZINGEN

ELT / LT — Télégramme-lettre / Brieftelegram

RP — Réponse payée / Antwoord betaald

AMERIKAANSE AMBASSADE
REGENTLAAN 27
BRUSSEL

Timbre à date du bureau d'arrivée
Datumstempel van het kantoor van aankomst

BRUXELLES (C)
T 30 VIII 1963 T
BRUSSEL (C)

Heure d'arrivée
Uur van aankomst

Indications à rappeler en cas de demande de renseignements. — Aanduidingen op te geven in geval van vraag om inlichtingen.

Bureau d'origine / Kantoor van afzending	Numéro / Nummer	Nombre de mots / Woordental	Date (évent.) / Datum (eventueel)	Heure de dépôt / Uur van afgifte	VIA
BRUSSEL	02837	43/41	30	1735	

WIJ VERHEUGEN ONS OVER SUCCES MARCH OP WASHINGTON WENSEN NEGER-
LEIDERS VERDER SUCCES IN HUN ACTIE DRING ER BIJ HET AMERIKAANSE
CONGRES OP AAN UITEINDELIJK DE VOLLEDIGE RASSENGELIJKHEID WETTE-
LIJK VAST TE LEGGEN

STUDENTENSYNDICATEN VVS MUBEF KOUDENBERG 68

Reproduction interdite : Loi 13-10-1880
Nadruk verboden : Wet

Received
1935
30 August
1963

HOTEL ROBLIN
6, RUE CHAUVEAU-LAGARDE
PARIS 8e

TÉL. : ANJOU 57-00 (6 LIGNES)
TÉLÉGR. : HOTELROBLIN-PARIS

August 22nd.

American Embassy
Paris, France.

Though not advised in time of Wednesday's manifestation I trust it is not too late to associate myself with it — I, the undersigned, as an American citizen, hereby publicly express my support of the March on Washington

SOCIÉTÉ ANONYME AU CAPITAL DE 72.000 N. F. — R. C. SEINE 57 B 3635

movement, which aspires not only to eradicate all racial barriers in American life but to liberate all Americans from the prison of their biases and fears. I cannot physically participate in this March, but I like the rest of the World, have been moved by so disciplined an exhibition of dignity and courage and persistence and would like to associate myself with it!

Caroline Worsley Kerridge
875 Park Avenue
New York 21, N.Y.

TSGT William Bradshaw
7366 Combat Support Group
Chaumont Air Base, Haute Marne
France

American Embassy
Paris, France

Dear Sir,

Enclosed are signatures of American citizens presently serving with the United States Air Force at the above address, endorsing the spirit behind the Civil Rights March on Washington.

While it would be unseemly and unfit for members of the military service to actively participate in these demonstrations, it is our wish to endorse this march in spirit, and as a token gesture.

Sincerely

William Isaac Shaw
James H. Webster
Edwin W. Moscone
Charles K. Brown
Robert C. Smith
Frank Thomas

U.S. Embassy
Paris

August 22, 1963

Petition in support of civil rights march on Washington.

I cannot physically participate in the March on Washington, but I, Abraham J. Burt, have been tremendously stirred by so disciplined an exhibition of dignity and courage and persistence, and would like to associate myself with it.

Abraham J. Burt

18 rue de la Harpe
Paris 5e —

As an American citizen unable to attend in person the August 28 march on Washington, I declare that I fully support the principles [redacted] behind and reasons [redacted] for this demonstration.

Francois Dupuis

Paris, August 21 1963

[redacted]

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH SUBJECT FILE March On Washington Movement "We Are Americans Too" Conference 1943 & Undated

MOW-M
Natl Projects
We Are American Too

April 6, 1943

Bishop R. R. Wright, Jr.
Executive Secretary
National Fraternal Council of Churches
P. O. Box 66
Wilberforce, Ohio

Dear Bishop Wright:

Permit me to thank you for your letter of March 18th advising me of the interest of the Negro Fraternal Council of Churches in the program of the March On Washington Movement and to determine ways and means of cooperation. I assure you I appreciate this immensely.

I am herewith enclosing a copy of the Proceedings of our Detroit Policy Conference which includes the policies of the March On Washington Movement and the Constitution. It is my hope that we may have the cooperation of the Negro Fraternal Council of Churches by sending delegates to the "WE ARE AMERICANS TOO" Conference which will be sponsored by the March On Washington Movement in Chicago, July 1, 2, 3, and 4th.

Now briefly this is our program:

1. It is our hope that the "WE ARE AMERICANS TOO" Conference will express the collective will and feeling of the negroes on the crucial issues that will affect the race. At this time dealing with the question of discrimination and segregation in the Armed Forces and Defense Industries.

2. Developing a program for the negro people in the Post War world.

3. Proclaiming the dedication of negro people to a free Africa and the freedom of the West Indies.

4. To ponder and discuss a program of constitutional obedience through non-violent goodwill. A direct action for the purpose of reconditioning the minds of America on the question of race and to avoid violence and blood shed in the solution of our problems.

2-Bishop R. R. Wright, Jr. 4/6/43

5. To project a WESTERN HEMISPHERE POLICY CONFERENCE OF FREE NEGROES which will work out formulae for the freedom of Africa and the relationship of darker peoples to the superstate and world policies which may emerge out of the Peace Conference.

We propose to have negro and white scholars and laymen at this conference. It will be planned at our Chicago Conference to work up the program which we will present to the Peace Conference wherever it is held when the war is over. In our WESTERN HEMISPHERE POLICY CONFERENCE OF FREE NEGROES which we shall hold in New York City at the Madison Square Garden sometime before the Armistice, we shall also plan to hold during the Peace Conference and in the place it is held, a WORLD CONGRESS OF DARKER PEOPLES which should deliberate on the program worked out by the WESTERN HEMISPHERE POLICY CONFERENCE OF FREE NEGROES and have it presented to the Peace Conference.

The central aim should be to fight for the equality of races and for proclamation measures to help Africa and the negro peoples everywhere.

This is a brief statement of our aims and program and I hope that we will get the cooperation of your worthy and influential body, and you, with other representatives of your organization will come as delegates to the "WE ARE AMERICANS" Conference in Chicago so that we may let America and the world know that the negro people must be free.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR:hm

PRESS RELEASE

Cont wadT

National Headquarters
MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York, N. Y.

PROMINENT NEGROES SIGN CALL FOR MOWM CONFERENCE

New York City, May 1, 1943

It was learned at the National Headquarters of the March On Washington Movement in the Theresa Hotel, New York City, that the following outstanding Negro leaders had signed the call for the "WE ARE AMERICANS, TOO" Conference sponsored by the March On Washington Movement, to be held in Chicago June 30th to July 4th:

Bishop John A. Gregg,
4th Episcopal District, A.M.E. Church

James A. Burns,
Attorney for Railroad Unions

Charles Wesley Burton, Director
Chicago Unit, March On Washington Movement

M. C. Clarke, President
Dunbar Mutual Insurance Society

James E. Cooke, Secretary
Pine Street Branch, YMCA, St. Louis, Missouri

Frank R. Crosswaith, Chairman
Negro Labor Committee

Elmer A. Carter, Membe
Unemployment Insurance Board, State of New York

F. E. DeFrantz, Executive Secretary
Senate Avenue Branch, YMCA
Indianapolis, Indiana

C. L. Dellums, 4th International Vice-President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters

Thurman L. Dodson, Director
Washington Unit, March On Washington Movement

Lawrence M. Ervin, Regional Director
March On Washington Movement, New York

C. A. Franklin, Editor
Kansas City Call

John Holly, President
Future Outlook League, Cleveland, Ohio

Reverend D. V. Jemison, President
National Baptist Convention of U.S.A.

Layle Lane,
Teacher, Columnist

Rayford Logan, General President
Alpha Phi Alpha

B. F. McLaurin, National Secretary
March On Washington Movement

T. D. McNeal, Chairman
St. Louis Division, March On Washington Movement

Carl Murphy, President
Afro-American

E. Pauline Myers, National Executive Secretary
March On Washington Movement

William Stuart Nelson, Dean
School of Religion, Howard University

Julian Steele, Chairman
Boston Unit, March On Washington Movement

A. Philip Randolph, National Director
March On Washington Movement

Aldrich Turner, Treasurer
March On Washington Movement

The Vanguard League
222 North 20th Street
Columbus, Ohio

Thomas A. Webster, Chairman
Negro National Defense Committee of
Greater Kansas City

Charles H. Wesley, President
Wilberforce University

J. Finley Wilson, Grand Exalted Ruler
Improved Benevolent Order of Elks of the World

Reverend Horace A. White, Chairman
Detroit Division, March On Washington Movement

How we We are Am Too

WE-ARE-AMERICANS-TOO-CONFERENCE

Sponsored-by-March-on-Washington-Movement

Chicago, July 1, 2, 3, 4,1943

Our country is now engaged in its greatest struggle testing whether its basic idea of democracy that all men are free and equal and endowed with alienable rights of life, liberty and pursuit of happiness shall live; testing whether this nation or any nation so dedicated can long endure. The [illegible] quickened by these terrible times that try men's souls. The whole world is in turmoil and trouble. People of all races and colors are battling against slavery and dictatorship and for freedom. In North Africa, in India, in China, in Australia, on Guadacanal and in the Solomon Islands, men - white, black, brown and yellow - sweat and bleed and die that democracy may live.

But democracy must be saved in America to enable our nation to lead in the struggle for democracy all over the world. We cannot successfully win the world war and secure a just and durable peace unless we practice democracy at home.

Upwards of fourteen million Negro citizens have become the test of American democracy. They are the symbol of what America must achieve for all people of this country. These Negroes and all real lovers of freedom are anxious that the Bill of Rights, the Four Freedoms, yes, the Constitution of the United States itself shall not be nullified from within our land while we fight tyranny and dictatorship abroad.

For 68 years Negroes have struggled for their full share in this democracy. They have made use of every parliamentary device to make known their grievances and demand redress. They have asked for full-fledged citizenship with all the rights, privileges, duties and responsibilities pertaining thereto. Alas, they have enjoyed only a second rate citizenship with many barriers between them and their government. They have sought economic equality but have secured only charity grants; they have striven for political equality in spite of poll-taxes

and white primaries. They have petitioned for civic equality in the midst of Jim-Crow and lynching. They have lived for religious equality and Christian goodwill in the congregations of segregated churches and divine white right.

Negro men and women of America rise up and greet the goddess of liberty for yourselves - cease to beg and dream of democracy from afar. The need for mass movement is now - Negro Americans must awake to the cause of their nation's freedom. We must join the ranks of all peoples who are on the march toward the new world.

To this cause the March-on-Washington Movement calls upon Negro Americans to convene in Chicago from July 1,2,3,4,1943, for a We-Are-Americans-Too-Conference during We-Are-Americans-Too-Week.

Here we will discuss the perplexing problems confronting all American citizens such as Jim-crow in the government, the army, the navy, the air corps, and what will be the role of Negroes in the post-war world.

Here we will talk about the welfare of our sons and daughters and civil rights for all, irrespective of race, creed or color.

Here we will register our protest to our government, our nation, and to the world against injustices designed to degrade and exploit us.

Here we will dedicate our lives to the cause of American freedom, the freedom of colored peoples everywhere, and the free program in the interest of abolishing Jim-crowism in America. Here we will lay the foundations of peace for a free world.

Negro Americans, heed the call! Your destiny is at hand! Armanents alone cannot bring freedom, this brotherhood of man. Negro Americans, your country calls you to defend its honor! Arise and save America for all free men and for God!

On to Chicago!!

PRESS RELEASE

WRAT
Conf

2[illegible] West [illegible]25th Street
New York City
April 21, 1943

CALL TO

"WE ARE AMERICANS, TOO" CONFERENCE
Sponsored by The March On Washington Movement
June 30, July 1-2-3-4, 1943
At Chicago, Illinois

- - - - -

Upwards of 14 million Negro Americans disturbed by the turn democracy has taken in this country and in the world, anxious lest the Bill of Rights, the Four Freedoms, yes, lest the Constitution of the United States be destroyed by fascist forces from within, sign this Call for a national, all-out "WE ARE AMERICANS, TOO" CONFERENCE.

For sixty-eight years the Negro has struggled for his full share in this democracy. He has made use of every parliamentary device to make known his grievances and demand redress. He has asked for full fledged citizenship with all rights, privileges and responsibilities thereto. Alas, he has enjoyed only a second-class citizenship with a Black Cabinet between him and his Government. For economic equality he has been given charity grants; for political equality he has been given poll taxes and white primaries; for social equality he has been given jim-crow and lynching; for religious equality he has been given good will and a white God. Now, we are engaged in a great world revolution testing whether this nation or any nation conceived and dedicated to double standards of citizenship and justice can long endure. The pulse beat of the nation is being quickened by this restless volcano that disturbs men's souls. The very universe is troubled and discomforted. People of all races and colors are battling against fascist slavery and dictatorship and for freedom. In North Africa, India, China, Australia, on Guadalcanal, on the Soloman Islands, and in London and Stalingrad, men--white, black, brown and yellow, sweat and bleed and dies that democracy might live.

From the throated millions of Negroes everywhere comes the cry: "WHAT SHALL WE DO?"

The need for mass organization is now. Negro Americans must awake to the cause of their nation's freedom. Black men who have so long seen and cherished democracy from afar must arise and take this sacred goddess for themselves. Democracy must be saved for America and hence saved for the world. We must join the swelling ranks of all people who are on the march toward a free world. We must be the standard bearers of this new community of the spirit that has as its motto the matchless slogan, "With malice toward none and justice toward all."

To this cause the March On Washington Movement calls upon Negro Americans, labor, church, fraternal, school, civic and social clubs and various institutions, to convene in Chicago from June 30th, July 1-2-3-4, 1943 for "WE ARE AMERICANS, TOO" WEEK.

Here we shall ponder and discuss whether Negroes should march on Washington, if so, when.

Here we will discuss the perplexing problems confronting us as American citizens such as jim-crow in the Government, the army, the navy, the air corps, in national defense, and what will happen to the Negro in the Post-War World.

Here we shall demand the abolition of the WAR'S GREATEST SCANDAL - JIM CROW IN UNIFORM.

Here we will register our protest to our Government, our nation and to the world against injustices designed to inferiorate, degrade and exploit us.

Here we will talk about the welfare of our sons and daughters and civil rights for Negroes.

Here we will dedicate our lives to the cause of American freedom, the freedom of colored peoples everywhere and the freedom of the world.

Here we will proclaim our dedication to the cause of a FREE AFRICA and the freedom of the West Indies.

Here we will map out a broad national program in the interest of abolishing jim-crowism in America. Here we will ponder and discuss non-violent techniques for mass action that may some day point the way for a foundation of peace for a new world.

Here we shall proclaim anew and re-affirm the determination of the Negro people to struggle for the victory of the United Nations over the Axis powers and for democracy.

Here we will seek a solution of the problem of race which will avoid and prevent riots, violence and bloodshed.

Negro Americans, heed the call! Your destiny is at hand! Armaments alone cannot bring this freedom - this brotherhood of man.

Black America, your country calls you to defend its honor! Arise and save America for all free men and for God!

ON TO CHICAGO!!!

S I G N E R S:

James A. Burns,
Attorney for Railroad Unions

Charles Wesley Burton, Director
Chicago Unit, March On Washington Movement

M. C. Clarke, President
Dunbar Mutual Insurance Society

James E. Cooke, Secretary
Pine Street Branch, YMCA, St. Louis, Missouri

Frank R. Crosswaith, Chairman
Negro Labor Committee

Elmer A. Carter, Member
Unemployment Insurance Board, State of New York

F. E. DeFrantz, Executive Secretary
Senate Avenue Branch, YMCA,
Indianapolis, Indiana

C. L. Dellums, 4th Internation'l Vice-President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters

Thurman L. Dodson, Director
Washington Unit, March On Washington Movement

Lawrence M. Ervin, Regional Director
March On Washington Movement, New York

C. A. Franklin, Editor
Kansas City Call

John A. Gregg, Presiding Bishop
4th Episcopal District, A. M. E. Churches

John Holly, President
Future Outlook League, Cleveland, Ohio

Reverend D. V. Jemison, President
National Baptist Convention of U.S.A.

Layle Lane,
Teacher, Columnist

Rayford Logan, General President
Alpha Phi Alpha

B. F. McLaurin, National Secretary
March On Washington Movement

T. D. McNeal, Chairman
St. Louis Division, March On Washington Movement

Carl Murphy, President
Afro-American

E. Pauline Myers, National Executive Secretary
March On Washington Movement

William Stuart Nelson, Dean
School of Religion, Howard University

Julian Steele, Chairman
Boston Unit, March On Washington Movement

Reverend M. C. Strachan, Chairman
Tampa Unit, March On Washington Movement

A. Philip Randolph, National Director
March On Washington Movement

Aldrich Turner, Treasurer
March On Washington Movement

The Vanguard League
222 North 20th Street
Columbus, Ohio

Thomas A. Webster, Chairman
Negro National Defense Committee of
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Charles H. Wesley, President
Wilberforce University

J. Finley Wilson, Grand Exal ter Ruler
Improved Benevolent Order of Elks of the World

Reverend Horace A. White, Chairman
Detroit Division, March On Washington Movement

MOWM
List

July 2, 1943

"WE ARE AMERICANS, TOO, " CONFERENCE
Meeting in session in Chicago, Illinois, June 30 - July 4, 1943
Metropolitan Community Church

Mr. Chairman, Fellow Delegates of the MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT, Ladies and Gentlemen:

With a full realization of the responsibility which rests upon us in the recommendation of persons of the highest caliber for offices of responsibility and with the sole consideration being merit, integrity, and ability, which we think the MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT deserves, we, hereby, respectfully submit the following nominees:

NATIONAL DIRECTOR.....A. Philip Randolph, New York

NATIONAL SECRETARY.....B. F. McLaurin, New York

NATIONAL TREASURER.....Aldrich Turner, New York

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD

(By Regions)

North Atlantic

Thurman Dodson.....Washington, D. C.
Layle Lane.....New York City
Jesse Taylor.....Buffalo, N. Y.

South Atlantic

Senera B. Lawson.....Richmond, Va.
Sam Harper.....Jacksonville, Fla.
A. L. Thomas.....Macon, Ga.

Southern

David M. Grant.....St. Louis, Mo.
Mrs. D. D. Phillips...Nashville, Tenn.
E. Vincent Suitt.....Kansas City, Mo.

Midwestern

Charles W. Burton.....Chicago, Ill.
Bennie Smith.....Detroit, Mich.
Theodore E. Brown.....Chicago, Ill.

Pacific

C. L. Dellums.....Oakland, Cal.
Armena Davis.....Los Angeles, Cal.
Rev. Wendell T. Liggins.....Denver, Colo.

Members-at-Large

Dr. L. M. Ervin.....New York City
Leyton Weston.....St. Louis, Mo.
James E. Burns.....Meridian, Miss.

Upon recommendation of the National Executive Board Miss E. Pauline Myers was appointed National Executive Secretary.

The Committee on Nominations by unanimous consent submit the above persons and recommend concurrence.

Signed,

Leyton Weston,
Chairman

PRESS RELEASE

MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York, N. Y.

RANDOLPH SUGGESTS "I AM AN AMERICAN, TOO" WEEK

WITH SLOGAN "DEFEAT HITLER, MUSSOLINI AND HIROHITO BY ENFORCING

THE CONSTITUTION AND ABOLISHING JIM CROW

New York City, December 30, 1942

Because of the non-enforcement of the Bill of Rights and the several Civil Rights amendments to the Constitution including the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments and the practice of jim-crowism upon American citizens on account of race and color, makes for the nullification and destruction of our American democratic institutions, ideals, faiths and values and prepares the groundwork for the growth of a violent Fascism, chauvinist racism and a devastating political and economic nationalism, and intolerant religious dogmatism, I am suggesting a week to be set aside and know as "I AM AN AMERICAN, TOO" WEEK, with the slogan "Defeat Hitler, Mussolini and Hirohito by enforcing the Constitution and abolishing jim-crow.

According to Mr Randolph, the week shall be observed the last week in May, 1943, during the time of the March On Washington Movement's National Conference in Chicago which shall be known as I AM AN AMERICAN, TOO Conference.

The purpose of this "I AM AN AMERICAN,TOO" WEEK is to focus national and world opinion upon the struggles of the American Negroes for their democratic and civil rights and mobilize and enlist the sympathy and cooperative public sentiment of the American people and the liberal minded people of the world, states Randolph.

As a part of the program of this Week, there will be: (1) "I AM AN AMERICAN, TOO" Marches on the city halls memorializing the mayors and city councils from coast to coast to memorialize the President and Congress to enforce the Constitution and abolish jim-crow in the interest of achieving total

democracy over the forces of Fascism at home and abroad. (2) Sending of letters and telegrams and the making of long distance telephone calls to the President, Secretaries of War, Navy, Labor, Agriculture, Interior, State, Commerce and Chairmen of the War Production Board, War Labor Board, War Manpower Commission, Office of Civilian Defense, Office of Price Administration, and the United States Attorney General, requesting and urging these government agencies to enforce the Constitution and abolish discrimination and segregation in the armed forces, the government and defense industries. (3) Sending of telegrams, letters and making long distance telephone calls to the presidents and personnel managers of every southern railroad and terminal company to observe the Constitution by abolishing jim-crow cars and terminal railroad waiting rooms marked "colored". (4) Calling upon every Negro and white preacher paper and magazine to preach sermons and write editorials on "I AM AN AMERICAN, TOO" with slogan "Defeat Hitler, Mussolini and Hirohito by enforcing and observing the Constitution and abolishing jim-crow.

It is Mr. Randolph's suggestion that the Negro organizations throughout the country plan and execute "I AM AN AMERICAN, TOO" WEEK as a symbol of the struggle of the Negro people for the status of first class citizenship.

PRESS RELEASE

National Headquarters
MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York, N. Y.

MOWM ESTABLISHES PERMANENT ORGANIZATION

New York City, July 9, 1943

At the "WE ARE AMERICANS, TOO" Conference which was held under the auspices of the March On Washington Movement in Chicago, June 30 to July 4th, a permanent organization of March On Washington Movement was established, with A. Philip Randolph elected National Director, B. F. McLaurin, National Secretary and Aldrich Turner, National Treasurer. Miss E. Pauline Myers was selected by the National Executive Committee as the National Executive Secretary. The members elected on the National Executive Committee are as follows:

(By Regions)

North Atlantic

Thurman Dodson	Washington, D. C.
Layle Lane	New York, N. Y.
Jesse Taylor	Buffalo, N. Y.

South Atlantic

Senora B. Lawson	Richmond, Va.
Sam Harper	Jacksonville, Fla.
A. L. Thomas	Macon, Ga.

Southern

David M. Grant	St. Louis, Mo.
Mrs. D. D. Phillips	Nashville, Tenn.
E. Vincent Suitt	Kansas City, Mo.

Midwestern

Charles W. Burton	Chicago, Ill.
Bennie Smith	Detroit, Mich.
Theodore E. Brown	Chicago, Ill.

Pacific

C. L. Dellums	Oakland, Cal.
Armena Davis	Los Angeles, Cal.
Rev. Liggins	Denver, Colo.

Members-at-Large

Dr. L. M. Ervin	New York City
Leyton Weston	St. Louis, Mo.
James E. Burns	Meridan, Miss.

"WE ARE AMERICANS TOO CONFERENCE"

BY

MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT

WHEREAS, ghastly, disastrous and dangerous race riots have broken out in Detroit, Michigan; Beaumont, Texas; Mobile, Alabama and Los Angeles, California, resulting in the wanton loss of life and the destruction of property, engendering, inculcating and fostering bitter racial hatred and rancors and sullen unrest that may burst forth into future violent social conflicts that will tend to widen the chasm between the Negro and white people, thereby sowing the seeds of a native variety of fascism which will strike down American democracy;

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED:

1. That President Roosevelt be called upon by this We Are Americans Too Conference, sponsored by the March On Washington Movement, to appoint a National Commission on Race with equal number of Negro and white members, to study the economic, social and political conditions, including housing, recreation, employment, education, law enforcement agencies, in relation to the Negro, and the Government's policy on racial segregation, throughout the Nation, with adequate appropriation from the President's contingent fund and with competent staff, to report findings to the President of and methods for handling effectively and constructively this socio-racial problem--to apply preventive and curative measures;

2. That Negro and white soldiers be sent into riot areas to insure that Negro workers like white workers continue to work to provide ships, tanks, airplanes, guns and other war materials to make possible the victory of the United Nations over Hitler and Hitlerism. Indications are that soldiers will be taken out of Beaumont, Texas. This will permit the flames of race prejudice to flare up again and prevent Negro workers from resuming their jobs in the defense plants and shipyards;

3. That Congressman Rayburn, Democratic Majority Speaker, and Congressman Martin, Minority Republican Leader, join in calling for and setting up a Congressional investigation of the Detroit Race Riot and the riots in Los Angeles, Cal., Beaumont, Texas and other places and to explore the whole economic, political, social and legal status of the Negro people with a view to enacting legislation that will deal constructively with this disease of racial prejudice;

4. That this meeting state definitely that it is unsound to place the blame of the cause of these race riots upon Hitler. The blame must be put where it belongs, that is, at the door of the present Government itself. The cause of these riots is not Hitler but the policy of jim-crow, segregation and discrimination in and by the government and in education, housing, recreation, amusement, before the courts, in the armed forces and defense industry. Race riots and mob law, lynchings and racial terrorism obtained in America long before Hitler was ever heard of and will continue long after he is dead and forgotten unless Negroes receive the status of First-Class Citizenship in America.

5. That the remedy lies in America practising what it preaches, namely, democracy.

MOWM
WAAT

BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS

Copy

COPY OF
WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

MR. JOHN L. LEWIS, PRESIDENT
UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA
UNITED MINE WORKERS HEADQUARTERS
WASHINGTON, D. C.

NEGRO CITIZENS PLAN GREAT "WE ARE AMERICANS, TOO" CONFERENCE IN CHICAGO AT ARMORY JULY 4TH FOR THE PURPOSE OF DEMONSTRATING THEIR OPPOSITION TO DISCRIMINATIONS IN DEFENSE INDUSTRIES AND THE ARMED FORCES AND EXPRESSING THEIR DEMAND FOR STATUS OF FIRST CLASS CITIZENSHIP. UNANIMOUS DESIRE EXPRESSED FOR YOU TO ADDRESS THIS CONFERENCE ON AFORMENTIONED OCCASION BECAUSE OF YOUR FORTHRIGHT AND SOUND POSITION ON NEGRO WORKERS PLAYING ROLE IN TRADE UNION MOVEMENT AND YOUR FRIENDLY ATTITUDE TOWARD THE BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS. MAY WE ASSURE YOU THAT THERE WILL

COPY OF
WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

Copy

MY AN OVERWHELMING THRONG OF NEGRO CITIZENS TO GREET AND LISTEN TO YOUR ADDRESS. I HOPE YOU WILL FIND IT CONVENIENT TO SERVE US ON OCCASION. WE NEED YOU. WE SHALL APPRECIATE FROM THE BOTTOM OF OUR HEARTS YOUR CONSENT TO SPEAK TO THE NEGRO PEOPLE AT THIS CONFERENCE. LETTER FOLLOWS. KINDLY ADDRESS ME AT 217 WEST 125TH STREET. IF YOU WISH TO TALK THIS MATTER OVER WITH ME FURTHER, I SHALL COME TO WASHINGTON FOR THE PURPOSE AT YOUR CONVENIENCE. SIGNED:

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

WESTERN UNION

131

NL/126 24=VT WASHINGTON DC 1 1225P

A PHILIP RANDOLPH, PRESIDENT=

BROTHERGOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS=

ROOM 301 217 WEST 125 ST=

REFERRING YOUR WIRE, DEEPLY REGRET INABILITY TO MAKE ENGAGEMENT YOU SUGGEST ON ACCOUNT OF DISTURBED CONDITIONS IN THE MINING INDUSTRY. LETTER OF EXPLANATION FOLLOWS=

JOHN L LEWIS.

MOWM "WAAT" Conf.

FORM 6122

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Full-Rate Message	
Day Letter	D.L.
Night Message	N.M.
Night Letter	N.L.

If none of these three symbols appears after the check (number of words) this is a full-rate message. Otherwise the character is indicated by the symbol appearing after the check.

CANADIAN NATIONAL TELEGRAM

(481)

D. E. GALLOWAY, ASSISTANT VICE-PRESIDENT, TORONTO, ONT.

Exclusive Connection with WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH CO. Cable Service to all the World Money Transferred by Telegraph

D TIME [illegible]

NA573 28=NW NEWYORK NY 1 622P

A PHILIP RANDOLPH= 2110

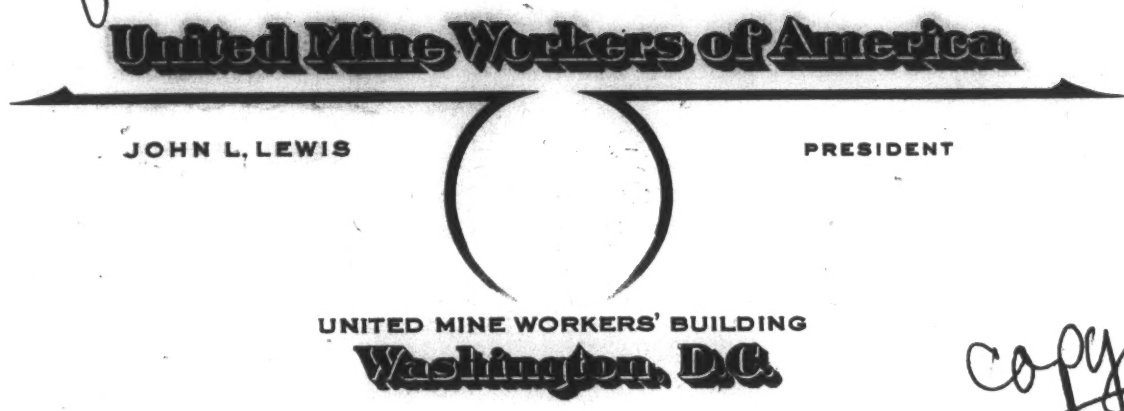
CARE V I PETRGRAVE 49 DENISON AVE TOR=

REFERRING YOUR WIRE DEEPLY REGRET INABILITY TO MAKE ENGAGEMENT YOU SUGGEST ON ACCOUNT OF DISTURBED CONDITIONS IN THE MINING INDUSTRY LETTER OF EXPLANATION FOLLOWS

SIGNED JOHN L LEWIS=

EUGENIE SETTLES.

MOWM
WAAT conf.



copy

June 1, 1943

Mr. A. Philip Randolph, President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
Room 301, 217 W. 125th Street
New York, New York

Dear President Randolph:

Your telegraphic invitation to speak to the "We Are Americans Too" conference in Chicago, July 4, is received by me in the midst of our negotiations and difficulties in the coal industry. I am too much oppressed at the present moment to undertake to make any engagement for the near future. When we secure a basic settlement in the coal industry, we will be much occupied for some time in making the collateral district agreements which must follow. I am of course somewhat heavily burdened and find it impossible to attend the Chicago meeting, much as I would desire to do so.

I am sure that your meeting will be a great success, and will go far toward demonstrating the loyalty and Americanism of the Negro citizens of our great country.

May I extend my felicitations and good wishes.

Sincerely yours

L:EN

CALLING ! CALLING! ALL NEGROES!

WE ARE AMERICANS TOO!

CONFERENCE

CALL TO

WE ARE AMERICANS TOO - - CONFERENCE

Upwards of 14 million Negro Americans disturbed by the turn democracy has taken in this country and in the world, anxious lest the Bill of Rights, the Four Freedoms, yea, lest the Constitution of the United States be destroyed by fascist forces from within, heed this Call for a national, all-out "WE ARE AMERICANS, TOO CONFERENCE.

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Here we will ponder and discuss whether Negroes should march on Washington and if so, when.

Here we will discuss the perplexing problems confronting us such as discrimination in the air corp, jobs in national defense, and what will happen to the Negro in the Post-War World.

Here we will demand the abolition of the **WAR'S GREATEST SCANDAL — JIM CROW IN UNIFORM."**

Here we will register our protest to our government and to the world against the injustices designed to inferiorate, degrade and exploit us.

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Here we will dedicate our lives to the cause of American freedom, the freedom of colored people everywhere and the freedom of the world.

Here we will proclaim our dedication to the cause of a Free Africa and the freedom of the West Indies.

Here we will map out a broad national program in the interest of abolishing jim crowism in America. Here we will ponder and discuss non-violent techniques for mass action that may some day point the way toward a foundation of peace for a new world.

Here we will proclaim anew and re-affirm the determination of the colored people to struggle for the victory of the United Nations over the Axis Powers and for democracy.

Here we will seek a solution to the problem of race which will avoid and prevent riots, violence and bloodshed.

Negro Americans, heed the Call!! Your destiny is at hand. Armaments alone cannot bring this freedom—this brotherhood of man.

Black America, your country calls you to defend its honor, Arise! and save America for all free men and for God.

ON TO CHICAGO!!!

Signatories:

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
National Director
March On Washington Movement

J. E. SMITH, Secretary
Pine Street Branch YMCA
St. Louis, Mo.

HORACE SHEFFIELD
International Representative
United Auto Workers, C.I.O.
Detroit, Mich.

F. E. DEFRANTZ, Secretary
Senate Avenue Branch YMCA
Indianapolis, Indiana

JOHN A. GREGG, Bishop
Fourth Episcopal District
AME Churches

JOHN HOLLY, President
Future Outlook League
Cleveland, Ohio

RAYFORD LOGAN
General President
Alpha Phi Alpha

M. C. CLARKE, President
Dunbar Mutual Insurance Co.

FRANK CROSSWAITH, Chairman
Negro Labor Committee
New York City

CARL MURPHY
President
Afro-American

WILLIAM STUART NELSON, Dean
School of Religion
Howard University

THE VANGUARD LEAGUE
222 North 20th St.
Columbus, Ohio

THOMAS A. WEBSTER, Chairman
Negro National Defense Committee
Greater Kansas City

REV. HORACE WHITE, Chairman
Detroit Local
March On Washington Movement

C. A. FRANKLIN, Editor
Kansas City Call
Kansas City, Kansas

REV. D. V. JAMISON, President
National Baptist Convention of
United States of America

CHARLES H. WESLEY, President
Wilberforce University

J. FINLEY WILSON
Grand Exalted Ruler
Improved Benevolent Order
Elks of the World

Registration: $1.50 for delegates representing March On Washington Movement Units. This covers admission to the business sessions Thursday, Friday and Saturday mornings and afternoons and to all the evening meetings.

Without Registrations: Admission to single panels Wednesday and Thursday afternoons and evenings and Friday afternoons 25c. Admission to the Town Hall Meeting Friday evening 50c.

Inter-racial Fellowship Dinner Reservations: Saturday evening $3.00 per person.

Delegates are requested to file application for registration by June 16th. Address all communications after June 1st to: E. Pauline Myers, National Executive Secretary, Chicago Headquarters, March On Washington Movement, 4304 South Parkway, Illinois.

SPECIAL EVENTS

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 30, 1943 — 8 P.M.

OPEN MEETING
Theme: Why Negroes Assemble at Chicago

THURSDAY, JULY 1, 1943

PANEL—1:30 P.M.—3:30 P.M.
Theme: The Outlook and Future of the FEPC

SYMPOSIUM: 8 P.M.
Theme: Mapping a Broad National Program In The Interest of Abolishing Jim Crow

FRIDAY, JULY 2, 1943

PANEL—1:30 P.M.—3:30 P.M.
Theme: The Clash of Color and Post War Reconstruction

TOWN MEETING TONIGHT—8 P.M.
Theme: Fighting the War's Greatest Scandal—Jim Crow In Uniform!

SATURDAY, JULY 3, 1943 — 6 P.M.

INTER-RACIAL FELLOWSHIP AND TESTIMONIAL BANQUET TO A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

SUNDAY, JULY 4, 1943 — INDEPENDENCE DAY

8:00 A.M.—Inter-Faith — Inter-Denominational — Inter-Racial Prayer Service Soldiers' Memorial

2:00 P.M.—National March For Freedom to MONSTER MASS MEETING
Theme: Defeat Hitler, Hirohito, Mussolini by enforcing the Constitution and abolishing Jim Crow.

MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT

Director
A. Philip Randolph

Executive Secy.
E. Pauline Myers

Secretary
B. F. McLaurin

Treasurer
Aldrich Turner

Eastern Regional Director
Dr. Lawrence Ervin

Mid-Western Regional Director
Dr. Charles Wesley Burton

Legal Counsel
Harold A. Stevens

Chairman National Advisory Committee on Mass Action and Strategy
Dean William Stuart Nelson

Public Relations
Neil Scott

NATIONAL COMMITTEE

J. A. Burns, Meridian, Miss.
C. L. Dellums, Oakland, Cal.
Thurman T. Dodson, Washington
Mrs. Senora Lawson, Richmond, Va.
Miss Layle Lane, New York City
T. D. McNeal, St. Louis, Mo.
Rev. M. C. Strachen, Tampa, Fla.

National Headquarters
HOTEL THERESA BUILDING
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York City

WE ARE AMERICANS—TOO!

Defeat Hitler – Mussolini and Hirohito – By Enforcing Constitution and Abolishing Jim-Crow

MARCH - ON - WASHINGTON MOVEMENT

National Program of Action
August 1943 to July 31, 1944

MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT

I.

A. To carry on a progressive fight in behalf of a mixed army of the United States of America.

B. To continue the fight on the Winfred Lynn case in cooperation with the American Civil Liberties Union for the enforcement of Section 4A of the 1940 Draft Act which reads:

> " In the selection and training of men under this act, and in the interpretation and execution of the provisions of this Act, there shall be no discrimination against any person on account of race or color."

II.

A. To understand and develop strategy in the use of the technique of non-violent good will direct action as an instrument for abolishing jim crow and racial segregation in the United States.

B. To sponsor institute and week end conference for the training of MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT leadership in non-violent good will direct action.

C. To organize, discipline and school members of the MOWM in the dynamic technique of "marching" preparatory to launching a national non-violent "march" of Negroes to the nation's capitol to protest the indignities and injustices heaped upon the Negro people and to demand action on the part of the National government.

III.

A. To organize a Non-Partisan Political Bloc of Negroes for the purpose of developing mass political pressure.

B. To develop mass plans to secure mass registration of the Negroes for the primaries and for the elections.

IV.

A. To work for Negro representation on the Peace Commission to negotiate the peace of the world.

B. To popluarize the slogan of a Free Africa and a free Caribbean.

V.

To initiate a Western Hemispheric Conference of Free Negroes

VI.

To carry on a national fund raising campaign among the Negro people to carry on the fight for their own liberation.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS TO "WE ARE AMERICAN - TOO CONFERENCE

After giving serious consideration to the resolutions properly before it, your committee on resolutions respectfully submits the following report and recommendations:

WAR

Whereas, the United Nations, representing Democracy and the Axis powers representing totalitarian slavery are locked in deadly combat and since the oppressed minorities of color, the free cultural, educational, religious, cooperative associations and the Trade Union Movement can only hope to develop and win freedom under the democratic system which provides the right of free speech, press and assembly, right of petition, trial by jury, habeas corpus and freedom of worship, and which freedoms are suppressed under Hitler's Nazism, Mussolini's Fascism, and Hirohito's Militarism.
Therefore, be it resolved that the WE ARE AMERICANS - TOO CONFERENCE of March On Washington Movement assembled in Chicago, Illinois, June 30 to July 4, 1943, go on record as backing and endorsing the fight of United Nations to wipe out the Axis Menace.
The Committee recommends concurrence.

MIXED ARMY

Whereas, a mixed army composed of all races, creeds, color, is the thing to have to fight a war for democracy;
Therefore, be it resolved that this WE ARE AMERICANS - TOO CONFERENCE of the March On Washington Movement assembled in Chicago, Illinois, June 30 - July 4, 1943, endorse the policy of a mixed army on the grounds that it is a negation of democracy to segregate soldiers who are fighting the same foe for the same cause.
The Committee recommends concurrence.

INDIA

Whereas, the people of India are in a desperate struggle to achieve independence and freedom now from British Imperialism, and since freedom of any section of people in the world is not secure so long as any other section is in bondage, and because the Negro people too, are fighting to win their democratic rights in America now:
Therefore, be it resolved that this WE ARE AMERICANS - TOO CONFERENCE of March On Washington Movement, assembled in Chicago, Illinois, June 30 - July 4, 1943, go on record as calling upon the President to call upon Prime Minister Churchill to give independenceand freedom to the Indian peoples and release their National leaders, Ghandi and Nehru, from jail and cease the wanton murder of the Indian.
The Committee recommends concurrence.

THE DEMOCRATIC STATUS OF THE WEST INDIES

Whereas, the West Indian peoples are under the heels of British Imperialism and are denied the ordinary rights of citizens and are oppressed and exploited mercilessly by Land-Lordism and Capitalism;
Therfore, be it resolved that this WE ARE AMERICANS - TOO CONFERENCE of the March On Washington Movement, assembled in Chicago, Illinois, June 30 - July 4, 1943, go on record as demanding that President Roosevelt call upon Prime Minister Churchill to grant democratic status with broad sufferage right to the peoples of the West Indian Islands.
The Committee recommends concurrence.

ORGANIZED LABOR

Whereas, the free Trade Union Movement is the bulwark of Democracy and is the most fundamental and constructive institution in our contemporary society--through it's principles of unity, all workers regardless of race, color, religion, or national origin, together with it's struggle for ever increasingly higher stand for the workers and the enactment of progressive social and labor legislations, to eliminate racial, religious and nationality discriminations and build a free world for the workers and all minorities.

Therefore, be it resolved that this WE ARE AMERICANS - TOO CONFERENCE of the March On Washington Movement, assembled in Chicago, Illinois, June 30 - July 4, 1943, endorse the Trade Union Movement and bona-fide collective bargaining and call upon the AFofL, Big Four Brotherhood, CIO to abolish discrimination, segregation and jim crow and the color bar in all forms and collaborate with the Negro people in their struggle for equality and freedom and this preservation of democracy, and we also call upon the Negro workers to join trade unions, when rejected to continue to fight to break down the color barriers and protect their economic interest against the employers.
The Committee recommends concurrence.

PEACE CONFERENCE AND THE NEGRO

Whereas, this war is largely the result of the exploitation of the darker races of the world by the great Imperialistic power-nations, and since the Peace Conference will be charged with the responsibility of developing a settlement which will prevent future war and the exploitation of the weaker people:

Therefore, be it resolved that this WE ARE AMERICANS - TOO CONFERENCE of the March On Washington Movement assembled in Chicago, Illinois, June 30 - July4, 1943, go on record as calling for the representation of the Negro people of America on the committee appointed by the President to sit at the Peace Table at the end of the war to negotiate the peace of the world, and we also call upon the President to appoint Negro technicians such as economists, engineers, and scientists as members of all the technical and professional committees that will work with the United States Peace Conference committee.
The Committee recommends concurrence.

SEGREGATING WORKERS IN INDUSTRY BECAUSE OF RACE, COLOR, RELIGION, OR NATIONAL ORIGIN

Whereas, the segregation of workers because of race, color, religion, or national origin fosters and engenders a sense of difference in the minds of workers which does not actually exist in fact,
Therefore, be it resolved that this WE ARE AMERICANS - TOO CONFERENCE of the March On Washington Movement assembled in Chicago, Illinois, June 30 - July 4, 1943, declares its condemnation of such practices as being undemocratic.
The Committee recommends concurrence.

FIGHTING TO ABOLISH DISCRIMINATION, SEGREGATION, AND JIM CROW NOW

Whereas, discrimination, segregation and jim-crow are on the increase in every phase of American life including the Government and since discrimination, segregation, and jim-crow, attaches the stigma of inferiority to Negro and brands him as a second-class citizen despite the role that the Negro people have played in defending this country in every war and also in helping to build this country with their brawn and brain.

Therefore be it resolved that this WE ARE AMERICANS - TOO CONFERENCE of the March On Washington Movement, go on record as being uncompromisingly committed to the program to fight to abolish discrimination, segregation, and jim-crow, now, before the war ends. and herewith condemns all appeasers who counsel closing ranks and forgetting our grievances and call upon the Negro people and all lovers of liberty and democracy to unite and mobilize their forces to bury jim-crow now once and for all times, as a vicious form of American fascism.

The Committee recommends concurrence.

POLL TAX

Whereas, ten million American citizens in the poll tax states are denied franchise by this "feudal-capitalistic poll tax device" which is a negation of democratic principles:

Therefore, be it resolved that this WE ARE AMERICANS TOO-CONFERENCE of the March On Washington Movement, assembled in Chicago, Illinois, June 30 - July 4, 1943, go on record as endorsing the current anti-poll tax bill sponsored by Senator Marcantonio, to abolish the Poll tax, which will deprive the reactionary South of it's stranglehold on our Government and provide an opportunity for the enactment of more labor and social legislation.

The Committee recommends concurrence.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY

Whereas, the Communists have no idea what they can believe or do from day to day because of the control by Soviet Russia, and since their primary interest and practice are to sacrifice labor, the Negro, or America, for the benefit of Soviet Russia:

Therefore, be it resolved that the WE ARE AMERICANS - TOO CONFERENCE of the March On Washington Movement, assembled in Chicago, Illinois, June 30 - July 4, 1943, go on record as opposed to any cooperation with the Communist Party or Communist Front Organizations, although this is not to be construed as an expression of opposition to Russia in her heroic fight against Hitler and Germany.

The Committee recommends concurrence.

ANTI-SEMITISM - ANTI-CATHOLICISM

Whereas, Anti-Semitism, Anti-Catholicism is a vile manifestation of Fascism, the enemy of democratic institutions under which alone the cause of the Negro people, the workers and oppressed minorities can go forward;

Therefore, be it resolved that the WE ARE AMERICANS - TOO CONFERENCE, of the MARCH On Washington Movement, assembled in Chicago, Illinois, June 30 - July 4, 1943, uncompromisingly condemns Anti-Semitism and Anti-Catholicism as undemocratic, unsound and a dangerous form of religious bigotry, and take the position that prejudice against Jews or Catholics is unworthy of the Negro people who are themselves the victims of racial prejudices.

The Committee recommends concurrence.

NON-SECTARIAN

Whereas, the March On Washington is a mass movement composed of people of varying religious faiths, and since the March On Washington Movement believes in the democratic principles of the freedom of religious worship;

Therefore, be it resolved that this WE ARE AMERICANS - TOO CONFERENCE of the March On Washington Movement, assembled in Chicago, Illinois, June 30 - July 4, 1943, go on record as opposed to the organization committing itself to or endorsing in any way any religion, denomination, or sect, but recognizes the right of any member or official of the March On Washington Movement to be a member and advocate of any religion, denomination, church, or sect, but no member or official can speak for the March On Washington in behalf of any religion, denomination, sect, or church.

The Committee recommends concurrence.

COLLABORATION WITH ORGANIZATIONS OF WHITE PEOPLE

Whereas, there are liberal, religious, civic, educational, economic and technical organizations of white people that have no totalitarian stigma that believe in the cause of the Negro freedom and hence may be helpful in giving moral and specialized technical support to the Negro liberation movement:

Therefore, be it resolved that this WE ARE AMERICANS - TOO CONFERENCE of the March On Washington Movement, assembled in Chicago, Illinois, June 30 - July 4, 1943, go on record calling for collaboration with sound democratic, liberal and labor groups since this is advisable and desirable to advance the cause of the Negro and Democracy but that no form of any cooperation shall be entered into by a Division without first being advised by the National Organization that such a move may be made.

The Committee recommends concurrence.

POLITICAL ACTION

Whereas, the March On Washington Movement is a mass movement and embraces persons of varying political party affiliations, and since each member of the March On Washington Movement has a right to hold any political belief and be a part of any political party he chooses and because committing the March On Washington Movement to any political party or candidate for office in the Government, Municipal, State or Federal, would introduce into the movement violent, partisan and disruptive dissentions.

Therefore, be it resolved that the WE ARE AMERICANS - TOO CONFERENCE of the March On Washington Movement go on record as not endorsing any political party or candidate for public office, but recognizes the right of any member of any political party to support and advocate the program of any political party.

Therefore, be it resolved that the WE ARE AMERICANS - TOO CONFERENCE of the March On Washington Movement go on record as not endorsing any political party or candidate for public office, but recognizes the right of any member or official of the March On Washington to be a member of any political party to support and advocate the program of any political party and to back any candidate for public office with the definite understanding that he does not represent or speak for the March On Washington Movement, and if, as, and when any member or officer commits the March On Washington Movement to any party or candidate, he shall be required publicly to repudiate same, and the National Organization or local division will also repudiate the said committment.

The Committee recommends concurrence.

WHITE PRIMARIES

Whereas, White Primaries disfranchise Negro citizens by confining the right of vote to only white people in the south;

(Over)

Therefore, be it resolved that this WE ARE AMERICANS - TOO CONFERENCE of the March On Washington Movement go on record as condemning the White Primaries and calling upon the Negro people and Organized Labor and all persons interested in true democracy to fight for the abolition of this sinister political-mechanism.

The Committee recommends concurrence.

FINANCING THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT

Whereas, there is no instance of any people, nation, or class winning freedom who did not have the will to pay for it in treasure, blood, and tears, and since he who pays the fiddler, practically always calls the tune.

Therefore, be it resolved that this WE ARE AMERICANS - TOO CONFERENCE of the March On Washington Movement assembled in Chicago, Illinois, June 30, July 4, 1943, go on record as opposed to the March On Washington Movement soliciting or accepting donations from any people except Negroes on the grounds that it weakens the Negro to depend upon some other race to pay for his own rights.

The Committee recommends concurrence.

THE MARCH

Whereas, the March On Washington Movement was organized for the specific purpose of applying more dynamic techniques to the struggle of Negroes for full equality, and

Whereas, a March on the Nation's capital was planned and organized to secure an executive order banning discrimination and was called off after securing Executive Order 8802, and

Whereas, the calling off of the March in 1941 was not an abandonment of the March technique nor of a March itself, and

Whereas, the continued indignity to Negro soldiers, the appeasement policy of Southern reaction by the Administration, and the recent riots in Los Angeles, Beaumont, and Detroit indicate reaction is fastening its grip upon the nation to the detriment not only of the Negro but also to the disadvantage of labor and to progress generally, and

Whereas, a March On Washington's capital during wartime for the protection of minority rights requires the most careful planning organization, and discipline;

Therefore, be it resolved that the WE ARE AMERICANS - TOO CONFERENCE of the March On Washington Movement, assembled in Chicago, Illinois, July 30 - July4, 1943, approve the March and take immediate steps necessary for organizing local marches for specific objectives in preparation of a national disciplined and nonviolent march of Negroes to demand action of our national government.

that Race riots and mob law, lynchings and racial terrorism obtained in America long before Hitler was ever heard of and will continue long after he is dead and forgotten unless Negroes receive the status of First-Class Citizenship in America. That the remedy lies in America practising what it preaches, namely, democracy."

The speakers at the opening session of the conference were: Dr. Charles Wesley Burton, Mid-Western Regional Director of the Movement; T. D. McNeal, Director of St. Louis Unit; Senora B. Lawson, Chairman of the Richmond, Virginia Unit; Dr. Lawrence D. Reddick of New York City College and Dr. Lawrence M. Ervin, Director of the Eastern Region of the Movement.

The highlight of the meeting was the impassioned, scholarly and uncompromising speech made by Dr. Ervin of New York. Dr. Ervin placed the blame for the undemocratic treatment of Negro citizens at the door of the United States Government and declared that the Negroes themselves are the only ones who can or should be expected to build up the necessary pressure to force the United States Government to practice what it preaches in the matter of universal democracy.

The business sessions of the conference are being held July 1 through July 3 with panel discussions on the following questions: "The Outlook and Future of FEPC" with Milton P. Webster, Earl B. Dickerson, Harold Stevens and Thurman T. Dodson leading the discussion; "Mapping a Board National Program in the Interest of Abolishing Jim Crow in America" with the discussion being led by Dr. Archibald Carey, Jr., Walter Hardin, George E. Haynes, Layle Lane, Cordelia Green Johnson, Bayard Rustin, Channing H. Tobias, Rev. James B. Adams and Henry Johnson; "Non-Violent Goodwill Direct Action--What

It Is and How It Can Be Applied to Abolishing Jim Crow". The discussants on this subject will be: William Stuart Nelson, James Farmer, J. Holmes Smith, Miss E. Pauline Myers, Bayard Rustin; "The Negro in Peace and Post-War Planning." The experts leading this discussion will be: Dr. Louis Wirth, Dr. Melville Herskovits, Dr. Eric Williams; "Fighting the War's Greatest Scandal--Jim Crow in Uniform". Speakers on this subject will be: Vincent Baker, James Farmer, David Grant, Horace Sheffield, Roscoe C. Mitchell, John Holly, Ira DeA. Reid and Norman Thomas.

An open air mass inter-denominational and interracial prayer meeting will be held at the Negro Soldiers' Monument on the Southside on Sunday, July 4 with outstanding religious leaders conducting the ceremonies.

The conference closes on Sunday afternoon with a mass meeting at the Du Sable High School auditorium with addresses by Dr. E. Stanley Jones, Milton P. Webster and A. Philip Randolph.

Press Release

PRESS RELEASE

WE ARE AMERICANS TOO CONFERENCE OPENS AT CHICAGO WITH A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, NATIONAL DIRECTOR, PRESIDING.

The March on Washington Movement's "We Are Americans Too Conference" opened at Chicago, Wednesday, June 30 with a packed meeting at the Metropolitan Community Church.

A large number of delegates were present from cities throughout the Nation. Fraternal delegates were present from Canada. From the larger cities such as New York, Washington and St. Louis, there were twenty or more delegates representing the local unit.

A first impression of the conference was that the assembled delegates and their leaders are not here in a holiday mood but that they are here on cold business, the business of mobilizing the Negro people for an all-out fight for their rights as American citizens and that there will be no compromise. This note was the central theme of every speech made and the same thread could be observed in every conversation among delegates around conference headquarters.

One of the first acts of the conference was the adoption of a strong resolution calling upon President Roosevelt to appoint a National Commission on Race with an equal number of Negroes and white members to study the conditions leading to recent race riots throughout the country and to apply preventive and curative measures. The resolution asked that Negro and white soldiers be sent to riot areas in order to adequately protect both races. It declared that it is unsound to place the blame for these race riots upon Hitler and said that the blame belongs at the door of the present Government itself. This resolution, which was forwarded immediately to the President of the United States and to members of the Congress, ended with the assertion

MOWM "WAAT" Conf.

DEFEAT HITLER, MUSSOLINI AND HIROHITO

by

Enforcing the Constitution and Abolishing
Jim Crow

File

* * *

WE ARE AMERICANS TOO ~~CONFERENCE~~ CONGRESS

Chicago, Illinois

During We Are Americans - 100 - Week

~~Wednesday, May 26 to Sunday, May 30~~, 1943

June 30, July 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 -

* * *

Sponsored by

MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT

Hotel Theresa Building

2084 Seventh Avenue

New York City

* * *

Address ---------- Arthur Garfield Hayes

Vocal Solo ----------

Remarks ---------- Dr. S. T. Eldridge

Introduction of National Committee Members and Officers --- E. Pauline Myers

Closing ---------- God Bless America

Benediction ---------- Dr. Evans

WEDNESDAY, MAY 26, 1943

Young Women's Christian Association - South Parkway

2:00 P. M. to 6:30 P. M.
Registration and Reception to Delegates

* * *

Opening Session

Community Church --- 41st Street & South Parkway

8:00 P. M.

A. Philip Randolph, presiding

Music ---------- My Country 'Tis of Thee

Invocation ---------- Dr. Evans

Music ---------- J. Westley Jones Choir

Welcome ---------- Dr. Charles Westley Burton

Purpose and Aims of the Conferen ---------- E. Pauline Myers

Greetings: Mayor, Gov[illegible], Congressmen, Labor, Church, Frat[illegible] Civic, Professional and Women's [illegible]izations.

Music ---------- Choir

Address ----- Race a Basis for Exploitation ----- Dr. Charles H. Westley

Address ----- Why Negroes Assemble at Chicago ----- Dr. Lawrence Ervin

Audience ---------- Lift Every Voice and Sing

* * *

Thursday, May 27, 1943

10:00 A. M.

Community Church --- 41st Street and South Parkway

Business Session

A. Philip Randolph, presiding

I. Report of Credentials Committee

II. Report of Policy Committee - Detroit Conference - Thelma Grant

III. Appointment of Committees

1. Committee on Fair Employment Practice
2. Committee on Winfred Lynn Case
3. Committee on National March For Freedom
4. Committee on Dance For Freedom
5. Committee on Program for Mass Action
6. Committee on Post War World
7. Committee on Nomination of Officers
8. Committee on Constitution
9. Committee on Administration
10. Committee on Resolutions.

IV. Discussion on the Mass structure of Organization
------- by E. Pauline Myers

* * *

Afternoon Session

Community Church --- 41st Street & South Parkway

1:00 P. M. to 3:30 P. M.

Committee Meetings

* * *

MOWM Office

42nd Street & South Parkway

4:00 P. M.

Administrative Committee Meeting

* * *

Thursday, May 26th, 1943

Community Church --- 41st Street & South Parkway

8:00 P. M.

Public Meeting

Dr. Charles Westley Burton - Presiding

Theme: Specific Problems of War and of Peace.
Extending Democracy to Every Sphere of Our Economic and Social Life.

1. The Outcome and future of FEPC --- Milton P. Webster

2. Specific Cases of Discrimination --- A Panel

Public Utilities ----------

Trade Union Movement -------

Government ---------- Dr. Ralph Bunch

Army, Navy, Air Corps ------ Judge Wm Hastie

3. Winfred Lynn Case ---------- Albert C. Gilbert

4. 4. Jim Crow an American Pattern ---------- Dr. Alaine Locke

* * *

Friday, May 28th, 1943

Community Church --- 41st Street & South Parkway

10:00 A. M.

Business Session

A. Philip Randolph, presiding

I. Report of Committees

1. Committee on Fair Employment Practice
2. Committee on Winfred Lynn Case
3. Committee on National March For Freedom
4. Committee on Dance for Freedom
5. Committee on Program for Mass Action
6. Committee on Post War World
7. Committee on Nomination of Officers
8. Committee on Constitution
9. Committee on Administration
10. Committee on Resolutions.

* * *

Recess

Community Church --- 41st Street & South Parkway

8:00 P. M.

Public Meeting

Thurman T. Dotson, presiding

Theme: Should Negroes Fight for their Rights now or after the War?

Panel

Speakers: Dr. Charles S. Johnson

Mr. P. B. Young, Sr.

Miss Lillian Smith

Dr. Rayford Logan

Mr. Julian Steel

Mr. Morris Milgrim

Dr. Horace Cayton

Mr. A. J. Muste

* * *

Saturday, May 29th, 1943

10:00 A. M.

MOWM Office

42nd Street & South Parkway

Meeting of National Committee Members

* * *

Saturday P. M., May 29th, 1943

Dance For Freedom

Place _____

_____

* * *

Sunday, May 30th, 1943

10:00 A. M.

Inter-denominational Prayer Service

Dr. Preston Bradley

Dr. S. T. Eldridge

Rev. J. Ken LaFage

Dr. Sidney Goldstein

Dr. James Myers

Dr. Mordecai Johnson

* * *

Sunday, May 30th, 1943

4:00 P. M.

---National March For Freedom---

* * *

Monster Mass Meeting

International Amphi-theatre

Theme: Defeat Hitler, Hirohito and Mussolini by Enforcing Constitution and Abolishing Jim Crow

B. F. McLaurin, presiding

Music ---------- The National Anthem

Invocation ---------- Rev. Howard Thurman

Music ---------- J. Wesley Jones Choir

Address ---------- Hon. J. Finley Wilson

Address ---------- Walter White

Address ---------- Pearl Buck

Address ----- Non-Violent Goodwill Direct Action - A Way Out -----
----- A. Philip Randolph

Vocal Solo ---------- Dorothy Mayhor

Address ---------- Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt

Address ---------- Arthur Garfield Hayes

Vocal Solo ----------

Remarks ---------- Dr. S. T. Eldridge

Introduction of National Committee Members and Officers --- E. Pauline Myers

Closing ---------- God Bless America

Benediction ---------- Dr. Evans

PRESS RELEASE

217 West 125th STREET
New York City
April 21, 1943

CALL TO

"WE ARE AMERICANS, TOO" CONFERENCE
Sponsored by The March On Washington Movement
June 30, July 1-2-3-4, 1943
At Chicago, Illinois

- - - - -

Upwards of 14 million Negro Americans disturbed by the turn democracy has taken in this country and in the world, anxious lest the Bill of Rights, the Four Freedoms, yes, lest the Constitution of the United States be destroyed by fascist forces from within, sign this Call for a national, all-out "WE ARE AMERICANS, TOO" CONFERENCE.

For sixty-eight years the Negro has struggled for his full share in this democracy. He has made use of every parliamentary device to make known his grievances and demand redress. He has asked for full fledged citizenship with all rights, privileges and responsibilities thereto. Alas, he has enjoyed only a second-class citizenship with a Black Cabinet between him and his Government. For economic equality he has been given charity grants; for political equality he has been given poll taxes and white primaries; for social equality he has been given jim-crow and lynching; for religious equality he has been given good will and a white God. Now, we are engaged in a great world revolution testing whether this nation or any nation conceived and dedicated to double standards of citizenship and justice can long endure. The pulse beat of the nation is being quickened by this restless volcano that disturbs men's souls. The very universe is troubled and discomforted. People of all races and colors are battling against fascist slavery and dictatorship and for freedom. In North Africa, India, China, Australia, on Guadalcanal, on the Soloman Islands, and in London and Stalingrad, men--white, black, brown and yellow, sweat and bleed and dies that democracy might live.

From the throated millions of Negroes everywhere comes the cry: "WHAT SHALL WE DO?"

The need for mass organization is now. Negro Americans must awake to the cause of their nation's freedom. Black men who have so long seen and cherished democracy from afar must arise and take this sacred goddess for themselves. Democracy must be saved for America and hence saved for the world. We must join the swelling ranks of all people who are on the march toward a free world. We must be the standard bearers of this new community of the spirit that has as its motto the matchless slogan, "With malice toward none and justice toward all."

To this cause the March On Washington Movement calls upon Negro Americans, labor, church, fraternal, school, civic and social clubs and various institutions, to convene in Chicago from June 30th, July 1-2-3-4, 1943 for "WE ARE AMERICANS, TOO" WEEK.

Here we shall ponder and discuss whether Negroes should march on Washington, if so, when.

Here we will discuss the perplexing problems confronting us as American citizens such as jim-crow in the Government, the army, the navy, the air corps, in national defense, and what will happen to the Negro in the Post-War World.

Here we shall demand the abolition of the WAR'S GREATEST SCANDAL - JIM CROW IN UNIFORM.

Here we will register our protest to our Government, our nation and to the world against injustices designed to inferiorate, degrade and exploit us.

Here we will talk about the welfare of our sons and daughters and civil rights for Negroes.

Here we will dedicate our lives to the cause of American freedom, the freedom of colored peoples everywhere and the freedom of the world.

Here we will proclaim our dedication to the cause of a FREE AFRICA and the freedom of the West Indies.

Here we will map out a broad national program in the interest of abolishing jim-crowism in America. Here we will ponder and discuss non-violent techniques for mass action that may some day point the way for a foundation of peace for a new world.

Here we shall proclaim anew and re-affirm the determination of the Negro people to struggle for the victory of the United Nations over the Axis powers and for democracy.

Here we will seek a solution of the problem of race which will avoid and prevent riots, violence and bloodshed.

Negro Americans, heed the call! Your destiny is at hand! Armaments alone cannot bring this freedom - this brotherhood of man.

Black America, your country calls you to defend its honor! Arise and save America for all free men and for God!

ON TO CHICAGO!!!

S I G N E R S:

James A. Burns,
Attorney for Railroad Unions

Charles Wesley Burton, Director
Chicago Unit, March On Washington Movement

M. C. Clarke, President
Dunbar Mutual Insurance Society

James E. Cooke, Secretary
Pine Street Branch, YMCA, St. Louis, Missouri

Frank R. Crosswaith, Chairman
Negro Labor Committee

Elmer A. Carter, Member
Unemployment Insurance Board, State of New York

F. E. DeFrantz, Executive Secretary
Senate Avenue Branch, YMCA,
Indianapolis, Indiana

C. L. Dellums, 4th Internation'l Vice-President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters

Thurman L. Dodson, Director
Washington Unit, March On Washington Movement

Lawrence M. Ervin, Regional Director
March On Washington Movement, New York

C. A. Franklin, Editor
Kansas City Call

John A. Gregg, Presiding Bishop
4th Episcopal District, A. M. E. Churches

John Holly, President
Future Outlook League, Cleveland, Ohio

Reverend D. V. Jemison, President
National Baptist Convention of U.S.A.

Layle Lane,
Teacher, Columnist

Rayford Logan, General President
Alpha Phi Alpha

B. F. McLaurin, National Secretary
March On Washington Movement

T. D. McNeal, Chairman
St. Louis Division, March On Washington Movement

Carl Murphy, President
Afro-American

E. Pauline Myers, National Executive Secretary
March On Washington Movement

William Stuart Nelson, Dean
School of Religion, Howard University

Julian Steele, Chairman
Boston Unit, March On Washington Movement

Reverend M. C. Strachan, Chairman
Tampa Unit, March On Washington Movement

A. Philip Randolph, National Director
March On Washington Movement

Aldrich Turner, Treasurer
March On Washington Movement

The Vanguard League
222 North 20th Street
Columbus, Ohio

Thomas A. Webster, Chairman
Negro National Defense Committee of
Greater Kansas City

Charles H. Wesley, President
Wilberforce University

J. Finley Wilson, Grand Exal ter Ruler
Improved Benevolent Order of Elks of the World

Reverend Horace A. White, Chairman
Detroit Division, March On Washington Movement

CALLING! CALLING! ALL NEGROES!

WE ARE AMERICANS TOO!

CONFERENCE

PRICE 50 CENTS

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, National Director

June 30, 1943

Delegates, Members, and Friends:

Greetings:

The March On Washington Movement welcomes you to its WE ARE AMERICANS, TOO Conference, convening in the edifice of the Metropolitan Community Church in Chicago.

It is indeed most fitting that not only Negroes but all Americans who believe in the basic principles which were set forth by Thomas Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence should take the opportunity afforded by this occasion to dedicate themselves anew to the high purposes for which we now assemble.

Now, more than at any previous time in our history, the tenets of democracy, as expressed in this Document, are important living things for Americans, with the forces of hate and destruction unloosed upon the world, it is essential that we in America should stand and fight for the principles and philosophy of government which have been handed down through the years by the Father of Democracy.

The United States of America is passing through the most critical period in its history. The world is embroiled in a war between the forces of freedom and the forces of slavery-democracy on the one hand and fascism on the other. What could more aptly describe the purposes for which we fight today than this immortal declaration "that all men are created equal, that they are endowed, by their Creator, with certain inalienable rights, that among these are, life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

The principles which inspired thirteen struggling colonies in 1776 today serve to rally thirteen million freedom-loving Negroes in America. We have learned through sweat, blood, tears, sacrifice, and deepest humility that the principles which Jefferson declared were inherent to the rights of man are deserving of the widest application lest freedom everywhere be imperiled.

We will have been untrue to the spirit of the Founding Fathers, we will have failed the noble patriots of freedom, we will have rendered vain the sacrifices of our sons and daughters who now give their lives

and pay with their last full measure of devotion that freedom and equality might come to the world, and more than that we will have failed America and we will have failed the world unless we come out of this war with new and greater freedom for all.

The Declaration of Independence was a revolutionary document and the men who framed it were revolutionary for Freedom, for Independence, and for the Common Man. Likewise, what we accomplish in this Conference must be also revolutionary. Our fate is tied up with the fate of the democratic way of life. Our fight is the most important social issue of today.

The problem of the Negro in the United States is no longer a purely domestic question but has world significance. It is integrated with the larger strategy of defeating the Axis. We have become the barometer of democracy to the colored peoples of the world: Africa, India, China, Latin America, and the West Indies, all look to the United States. It suggests to them the kind of "democracy" which would dominate the post war period should certain fascist-minded elements in this country have their way.

If the valid claims of the colored peoples of the earth are not recognized we shall then have lost the war, for we shall still have to face another and more terrible war—a war of color.

Lovers of Liberty! We welcome you here as pioneers in the Cause of full and complete democracy for Negroes in American life. It is timely that we begin this titanic struggle to abolish jim crow and win equality of status for Negro and white people in America.

The strength of free people on which Jefferson relied must make itself felt by our banding ourselves together to face powerful opposition but to "March" steadily on toward the deathless ideal of freedom and equality for all.

Signed

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

E. PAULINE MYERS

E. PAULINE MYERS, National Secretary
March On Washington Movement

GREETINGS TO THE WE ARE AMERICANS, TOO CONFERENCE

Let us bind ourselves together as one to defeat the demagogues and native and foreign fascists who would crush us beneath the weights of economic and social bondage.

Fraternally yours,

SAM DE VOE, Chairman
BEN RHODES, Secretary
1588 Linden Street
Augusta, Georgia

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 30, 1943

•

METROPOLITAN COMMUNITY CHURCH
4100 South Parkway

•

Opening Meeting
8:00 P.M.

•

Theme: **Why Negroes Assemble at Chicago**

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, Presiding

MUSIC.....The Star Spangled Banner

INVOCATION.....Rev. Joseph T. Evans

MUSIC.....J. Wesley Jones, Choir

WELCOME ADDRESS.....Charles Wesley Burton

RESPONSE.....T. D. McNeal

RESPONSE.....Senora B. Lawson

GREETINGS

MUSIC

ADDRESS.....Lawrence D. Reddick
Race and Imperialism

OFFERING.....Thomas B. Chapman

ADDRESS.....Lawrence M. Ervin
Why Negroes Assemble at Chicago

INTRODUCING NATIONAL OFFICERS.....B. F. McLaurin

MUSIC.....Lift Every Voice and Sing

MUSIC.....J. Wesley Jones, Choir

THURSDAY, JULY 1, 1943

●

Business Session
10 A.M.

●

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, Presiding

1. Report of the Committee on Credentials
2. Survey and Outline of Conference Program—E. Pauline Myers
3. Appointment of Committees
4. Announcements—B. F. McLaurin

Recess
Afternoon Session
1:30 - 3:30

●

Panel
Theme: **The Outlook and Future of FEPC**
B F. McLAURIN, Presiding
Discussants:

Milton P. Webster Earl B. Dickerson
Harold Stevens Thurman T. Dodson
Discussion from the Floor

Recess

Evening Meeting
8:00 P.M.

●

A Symposium

●

Theme: **Mapping A Broad National Program in the Interest of Abolishing Jim Crow in America**

Discussants:
Dr. Archibald Carey, Jr.
Walter Hardin George E. Haynes Layle Lane
Cordelia Green Johnson Ashley L. Totten Bayard Rustin
Channing H. Tobias Rev. James B. Adams Henry (Hank) Johnson

Announcements: B. F. McLAURIN

FRIDAY, JULY 2, 1943

●

Business Session
10:00 A.M.

●

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, Presiding

Subject: **Non-Violent Goodwill Direct Action—What it is and How It Can Be Applied to Abolishing Jim Crow**

Discussants:

William Stuart Nelson — James Farmer
J. Holmes Smith — E. Pauline Myers
Bayard Rustin

Group Discussion and Recommendations
Announcements

Recess

●

Afternoon Session
1:30 - 3:30

●

Panel

Theme: **The Negro in Peace and Post-War Planning: Africa—The Carribbean—The United States**

DR. LAWRENCE D. REDDICK, Presiding

Discussants:

Dr. Louis Wirth — Dr. Melville Herskovits
Dr. Eric Williams

Discussion from the Floor
Recess

FRIDAY EVENING MEETING
8:00 P.M.

●

Town Hall Meeting

Subject: **Fighting the War's Greatest Scandal—Jim Crow in Uniform**

COLDEN BROWN, Presiding

Speakers:

Vincent Baker — Roscoe C. Mitchell
James Farmer — John Holly
David Grant — Ira DeA. Reid
Horace Sheffield — Norman Thomas

Discussion from the Floor

SATURDAY, JULY 3, 1943

●

Business Session

10:00 A.M.

●

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, Presiding

I. Roll Call and Seating of Delegates

II. Report of Committees:

1. Committee on Organization and Structure
2. Committee on Winfred Lynn Case
3. Committee on Non-Violent Direct Action
4. Committee on the Negro and Post War Planning
5. Committee on Resolutions

Recess

●

Business Session

2:00 P.M.

●

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, Presiding

I. Report of Committee on Finance

II. Nomination and Election of Officers

III. Report of the Chicago Committee

Announcements

SUNDAY, JULY 4, 1943

•

Independence Day!

7:45 A.M. Open Air Meeting

Inter-Denominational Patriotic Service

DR. A. WAYMON WARD, Presiding

NEGRO SOLDIERS' MONUMENT
35th and South Parkway

•

Theme: **We Shall Not Fail Our Boys!**

Salute to Colors

Star Spangled Banner.....(Chorus to be Selected)

Purpose of Meeting.....Dr. A. Waymon Ward

Prayer for Mutual Understanding.....Rev. J. D. Roberts

Prayer for World Brotherhood.....Father Rufinus Glauber, OFM

Cantor.....Bayard Rustin

Prayer For Tolerance and Good Will.....Rabbi George Fox

Reading of Manifesto.....Rev. J. L. Horace

Remarks.....Dr. Charles Wesley Burton
A. Philip Randolph

Prayer for a Just and Durable Peace.....Rev. H. B. Hawkins

Lift Every Voice and Sing

Chanted Benediction.....Bayard Rustin

MAMMOTH MASS MEETING

●

SUNDAY, JULY 4, 1943

●

Du Sadle High School
4:00 P.M.

●

Defeat Hitler, Hirohito and Mussolini
By Enforcing the Constitution and Abolishing Jim Crow

CHARLES WESLEY BURTON, Presiding

MUSIC.....The Star Spangled Banner
INVOCATION.....Dean William Stuart Nelson
MUSIC.....J. Wesley Jones, Choir
ADDRESS.....Dr. E. Stanley Jones
MUSIC.....Carol Brice, Contralto
ORATION - "I Am a Negro".....Master Harold Glover, Child Prodigy
ADDRESS.....Milton P. Webster
ADDRESS.....A. Philip Randolph
MUSIC.....Lift Every Voice and Sing

Adjournment

Grateful acknowledgement is expressed to the International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters for the deep and sincere interst it has taken in furthering the March On Washington Movement and in serving as a great sustaining influence to the character of the program.

GREETINGS TO THE WE ARE AMERICANS, TOO CONFERENCE

Let us dedicate our lives to the important task of stopping the Scandals that expose us to the enemy.

We Can Win if we try. Victory is ours if we are willing to pay the price.

Fraternally yours,

OFFICERS and MEMBERS
OF THE NEW YORK UNIT
2084 Seventh Avenue

B. F. McLAURIN, Executive Secretary
March On Washington Movement

MISS LAYLE LANE
Member, National Executive Board
March On Washington Movement

T. D. McNEAL
Member, National Executive Board
March On Washington Movement

ALDRICH TURNER, National Treasurer
March On Washington Movement

THE WAR'S GREATEST SCANDAL (Jim Crow in the Army)

WINFRED LYNN
The Principal in the Celebrated Winfred Lynn Case

THE WAR'S GREATEST SCANDAL!

THE STORY OF

JIM CROW IN UNIFORM

5c

By NANCY and DWIGHT MACDONALD

NATIONAL MOW HEADQUARTERS
2084 Seventh Avenue, New York, N. Y.

PUBLISHED BY THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT

..WHO'S WHO..

Adams, Rev., Dr. James B. ..... Pastor, Concord Baptist Church, Brooklyn, New York; Chairman, Social Action Committee, National Baptist Convention of America, Inc.

Brice, Carol ..... Contralto, Soloist, St. George's Episcopal Church, New York City; nationally famous concert artist.

Burns, James A. ..... Member National Committee, March On Washington Movement, Meridan, Miss.

Burton, Dr. Charles Wesley ..... President, Chicago Local; member National Committee; Mid-Western Regional Director, MOWM.

Brown, Colden ..... President, New York Local, MOWM Chairman, National Committee Winfred Lynn Case.

Baker, Vincent ..... Director, National Modern Trend.

Carrington, Helena M. ..... Secretary to National Executive Secretary

Dellums, C. L. ..... Second Vice President, International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; member, National Committee March On Washington Movement.

Dickerson, Earl B. ..... Lawyer, Chicago, member President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices.

Dodson, Thurman T. ..... Lawyer, Washington, D. C., President Washington Local; Member National Committee, MOWM; Chairman, National Committee To Safeguard FEPC.

Evans, Rev. James T. ..... Pastor, Metropolitan Community Church, Chicago, Illinois.

Ervin, Dr. Lawrence M. ..... Director, Eastern Region, MOWM Chairman, New York Committee to Defend Winfred Lynn.

Farmer, James ..... Race Secretary, Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Grant, David ..... Lawyer, Member St. Louis Local, MOWM

Holly, John ..... President, Future Outlook League, Cleveland, Ohio.

Herskovits, Dr. Melville J. ..... Professor, Anthropology, North-Western University, Evanston, Illinois.

..WHO'S WHO..

Hardin, Walter..... Race Relations Secretary, United Auto Workers, CIO.

Haynes, Dr. George E...... Inter-Racial Secretary, Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America.

Horace, Rev. J. L...... Pastor, Monumental Baptist Church, Chicago; President, Illinois Baptist Ministers' Alliance.

Johnson, Mme. Cordelia Greene..... President, National Beauty Culturist League.

Jones, Dr. E. Stanley..... Evangelistic Missionary to India.

Lawson, Mrs. Senora B...... Member Executive Committee, Richmond Chapter NAACP; Chairman, Richmond Local MOWM.

Lane, Layle..... Teacher, New York City Schools; Chairman, Mass Action Committee; Member National Committee, MOWM.

Mitchell, Roscoe L...... Chairman, Negro Ration Board; member Executive Committee, MOWM, Richmond, Virginia.

Myers, E. Pauline..... National Executive Secretary, MOWM.

McNeal, T. D...... Field Organier, International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; President, St. Louis Local March On Washington Movement.

McLaurin, B. F...... International Field Organizer, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; Member Provisional Committee to Organize Colored Firemen; Secretary, National Committee, MOWM.

Nelson, Dr. William Stuart..... Dean, School of Religion, Howard University; Chairman, National Committee on Mass Action and Strategy In Non-Violent Good Will Direct Action.

Payne, Ethel..... Local Organizer, Chicago, Illinois.

Rustin, Bayard..... Field Secretary, Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Reddick, Dr. Lawrence D...... Curator, Schomburg Collection of Negro Literature, New York Public Library; Lecturer-History, New York City College.

Reid, Dr. Ira DeA...... Head of Department Sociology, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga.

Sheffield, Horace..... International Representative, United Auto Workers, CIO, Detroit, Michigan.

Scott, Neil..... Labor Editor, Pittsburgh Courier; Public Relations Director, National March On Washington Movement.

Strachen, Rev. M. C...... Member, National Committee, MOWM, Tampa, Florida.

..WHO'S WHO..

Thompson, Mrs. Thelma B.	Office Secretary, Chicago Local March On Washington Movement.
Thomas, Norman	President Socialist Party of America, Chairman, Post War World Council.
Tobias, Dr. Channing H.	Inter-Racial Secretary, National Council, YMCA.
Totten, Ashley L.	International Secretary-Treasurer, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.
Wilson, Hon. J. Finley	Grand Exalted Ruler, Improved Benevolent, and Protective Order of Elks of the World.
Webster, Milton P.	First International Vice President, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.
Williams, Dr. Eric	Associate Professor, Social and Political Science, Howard University.
Wirth, Dr. Louis	Professor, Sociology, University of Chicago.
Ward, Rev. Dr. A. Weymon	Pastor, Bethel AME Church, Chicago, Illinois.

. . GREETINGS . .

TO THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT

WE ARE AMERICANS, TOO CONFERENCE

PITTSBURGH DIVISION

OF THE BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS

M. H. HENRY - M. H. NIXSON - M. J. THOMAS

. . GREETINGS . .

TO THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT

WE ARE AMERICANS, TOO CONFERENCE

OAKLAND DIVISION

OF THE BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS

C. L. DELLUMS

Get Your Copy at Once

BROTHER JIM CROW

By James Rorty

Only 10 cents

POST WAR WORLD COUNCIL

112 East 19th Street **New York City**

DISTRICT 50 OF THE UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA

We send greetings to the March On Washington Movement "We Are Americans Too Conference." As always, we are fully conscious of the great struggle which must be continually waged to assure the fullest imaginable democratic system and justice and equality for all.

Our great leader has always been sympathetic toward and up to the front of the struggle to bring justice to the American Negro and all other working men regardless of their race, creed, or color.

We can say without a retarding conscience that now is the time for the Negro and all other little men to stand firmly behind your demands for your God-given democratic rights. Only in this manner can you be sure of them in the Post War peace.

Committee Chairmen:

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Executive Board

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Boosters

WILLIE EASTMAN
Decorations

ELIZABETH WEBSTER
Receptionist

M. M. WILLIAMS
Finance

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First Aid

HENRY C. BENNETT
Freedom Parade

RUTH MOORE SMITH
Housing

THEODORE BROWN
Literature

ADELINE TERRELL
Membership

REV. A. WAYMON WARD
Patriotic Soldiers' Memorial

RITA BAHAM
Non-Violent Goodwill Action

E. L. RAMSEY
Place of Meeting

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David Johnson
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Verna Vaughan
T. J. Walker
William Walker
Anna Wattlington
Mr. and Mrs. B. L. White
Lulu Williams
Mr. and Mrs. Merrit Williams
A Friend

Organized Groups

AME Ministers Alliance
Coppin M. E. Church
Cosmopolitan Community Church
Delta Sigma Theta Sorority
Elite Bruno Club
Guadeamus Club
Good Shepherd Cong. Church
Hope Presbyterian Church
Lincoln Memorial Cong. Church
Metropolitan Community Church
Original Providence Baptist Church
Woodlawn AME Church

..Greetings..

To the March On Washington's We Are Americans, Too Conference. We wish for you the greatest success. We are trusting in you to put up a courageous fight to solve the complex problems which stand between us and complete equality.

Fraternally yours,

MOSE MAXWELL and MEMBERS
65 South Street
Charleston, S. C.

..GREETINGS..

You will find the Portland Division of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and the Chair Car Porters 100 percent behind the March On Washington Movement. We believe it is the only movement that is able to solve problems of the Negro in America.

Fraternally yours,

A. A. ASKEY, Sec'y, B.S.C.P.
413 N W 6th Avenue
Portland, Oregon

Compliments and Best Wishes from the Officers and Members of the

JACKSONVILLE DIVISION BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS AND LADIES AUXILIARY

Office Address: 823 Davis Street, Jacksonville, Fla.
S. L. BENNETT and MILDRED C. BURDINE, Presidents

GREETINGS TO THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
FOR AN END TO **ALL** DISCRIMINATION
from the
SOCIALIST PARTY, U. S. A.

HOW CAN WE END RACE RIOTS?
Read **"Victory's Victims?—The Negro's Future"**
by Norman Thomas and A. Philip Randolph
10c a copy - 15 for $1.00 - 100 for $5.00
Order from
SOCIALIST PARTY
303 Fourth Avenue New York 10, N. Y.

For full news of the fight against Jim Crow, and for full racial, economic, political and social equality - read

THE CALL
Socialist Party Weekly Paper
$1.00 for 35 weeks - $1.50 for 52 weeks - $2.00 for two years
THE CALL
303 Fourth Avenue New York 10, N. Y.

WHAT MOWM

Mr. A. Philip Randolph, National Director,
March On Washington Movement.

I will
~~will not~~ sign the call for "WE ARE AMERICANS, TOO"

Congress sponsored by the March On Washington Movement

to be held in Chicago the 1-2-3-4 of July, 1943.

Signed George E. Brown

Mr. A. Philip Randolph, National Director
March On Washington Movement

I will / will not sign call for the "WE ARE AMERICANS, TOO"

Congress to be held in Chicago July 1, 2, 3, 4, by

the March On Washington Movement.

Signed Caretha M. McWhite

Mr. A. Philip Randolph, National Director,
March On Washington Movement.

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~~will not~~ sign the call for "WE ARE AMERICANS, TOO"

Congress sponsored by the March On Washington Movement

to be held in Chicago the 1-2-3-4 of July, 1943.

Signed Mrs. L. M. Erwin
Mrs. Lawrence Manuel Erwin
Regional Director MOWM

Mr. A. Philip Randolph, National Director
MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT

I will / will not sign the call for the "WE ARE AMERICANS, TOO"

Congress sponsored by the March On Washington Movement

to be held in Chicago, July 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 1943.

Signed Rev. D. V. Jemison
President National Baptist Convention of U.S.A. Inc.
1605 Hopsley St
Selma, Alabama

Mr. A. Philip Randolph, National Director
March On Washington Movement

I will / ~~will not~~ sign the call for the "WE ARE AMERICANS, TOO"

Congress sponsored by the March On Washington Movement

to be held in Chicago, July 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 1943.

Signed J. A. Gregg

Mr. A. Philip Randolph, National Director,
March On Washington Movement.

I will
~~will not~~ sign the call for "WE ARE AMERICANS, TOO"

Congress sponsored by the March On Washington Movement

to be held in Chicago the 1-2-3-4 of July, 1943.

Signed James A. Dixon
Attorney for railroad unions

Mr. A. Philip Randolph, National Director
March On Washington Movement

I will / ~~will not~~ sign call for the "WE ARE AMERICANS, TOO"

Congress to be held in Chicago July 1, 2, 3, 4, by

the March On Washington Movement.

Signed Thurman L. Dodson
Director Washington D.C. MOWM

Mr. A. Philip Randolph, National Director,
March On Washington Movement.

I will
~~will not~~ sign the call for "WE ARE AMERICANS, TOO"

Congress sponsored by the March On Washington Movement

to be held in Chicago the 1-2-3-4 of July, 1943.

Signed P. C. De Frantz
Executive Secretary
Y.M.C.A. - Indiana

Mr. A. Philip Randolph, National Director,
March On Washington Movement.

April 5, 1943

I will
~~will not~~ sign the call for "WE ARE AMERICANS, TOO"

Congress sponsored by the March On Washington Movement

to be held in Chicago the 1-2-3-4 of July, 1943.

Signed Rayford W. Logan
General President
Alpha Phi Alpha

Mr. A. Philip Randolph, National Director,
March On Washington Movement.

I will
~~will not~~ sign the call for "WE ARE AMERICANS, TOO"

Congress sponsored by the March On Washington Movement

to be held in Chicago the 1-2-3-4 of July, 1943.

Signed James Cook
Secretary Y.M.C.A.

Please [illegible] as above & not Rev

Mr. A. Philip Randolph, National Director,
March On Washington Movement.

I will certainly sign the call for "WE ARE AMERICANS, TOO"
~~will not~~

Congress sponsored by the March On Washington Movement

to be held in Chicago the 1-2-3-4 of July, 1943.

Signed Frank R. Crosswaith
Chairman Negro Labor Committee

Mr. A. Philip Randolph, National Director
March On Washington Movement

I will sign the call for the "WE ARE AMERICANS, TOO"
~~will not~~

Congress sponsored by the March On Washington Movement

to be held in Chicago, July 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 1943.

Signed M. C. Clarke.
President Supreme Mutual Insurance Society

Mr. A. Philip Randolph, National Director,
March On Washington Movement.

I will sign the call for "WE ARE AMERICANS, TOO"
will not

Congress sponsored by the March On Washington Movement

to be held in Chicago the 1-2-3-4 of July, 1943.

Signed Charles Wesley Burton
Director - Chicago Urban MOWM

Mr. A. Philip Randolph, National Director,
March On Washington Movement.

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~~will not~~

Congress sponsored by the March On Washington Movement

to be held in Chicago the 1-2-3-4 of July, 1943.

Signed John O. Holle
President Future Outlook League - Flint

Mr. A. Philip Randolph, National Director,
March On Washington Movement.

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~~will not~~

Congress sponsored by the March On Washington Movement

to be held in Chicago the 1-2-3-4 of July, 1943.

Signed C. A. Franklin
C. A. FRANKLIN
Editor Louisville Leader

Mr. A. Philip Randolph, National Director,
March On Washington Movement.

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will not

Congress sponsored by the March On Washington Movement

to be held in Chicago the 1-2-3-4 of July, 1943.

Signed Wardell Wilson
Ward Wallace Wilson Jr. Editor
N.J. 1813 Vernon St

Mr. A. Philip Randolph, National Director,
March On Washington Movement.

I will sign the call for "WE ARE AMERICANS, TOO"
~~will not~~

Congress sponsored by the March On Washington Movement

to be held in Chicago the 1-2-3-4 of July, 1943.

Signed Paul Murphy, President
The Afro-American

Mr. A. Philip Randolph, National Director
March On Washington Movement

I will sign call for the "WE ARE AMERICANS, TOO"
~~will not~~

Congress to be held in Chicago July 1, 2, 3, 4, by

the March On Washington Movement.

Signed Juliano Stella

Mr. A. Philip Randolph, National Director,
March On Washington Movement.

I will sign the call for "WE ARE AMERICANS, TOO"
~~will not~~

Congress sponsored by the March On Washington Movement

to be held in Chicago the 1-2-3-4 of July, 1943.

Signed Charles H. Wesley.
President Wilberforce University.

Mr. A. Philip Randolph, National Director,
March On Washington Movement.

I will sign the call for "WE ARE AMERICANS, TOO"
~~will not~~

Congress sponsored by the March On Washington Movement

to be held in Chicago the 1-2-3-4 of July, 1943.

Signed Thomas A. Webster
Chm. Negro National Defense Committee of Greater Kansas City.

Mr. A. Philip Randolph, National Director,
March On Washington Movement.

I will sign the call for "WE ARE AMERICANS, TOO"
~~will not~~

Congress sponsored by the March On Washington Movement

to be held in Chicago the 1-2-3-4 of July, 1943.

Signed The Vanguard League
222 N. 20th St
Columbus, Ohio

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

SUBJECT FILE The Mayor's Board on Transfer
Of Relief Administration
Committee on Negro Problems

1937 & Undated

THE MAYOR'S
BOARD OF SURVEY ON TRANSFER OF RELIEF ADMINISTRATION

902 BROADWAY
ROOM 2 - 10TH FLOOR
NEW YORK CITY
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CHAIRMAN
MISS MARY E. DILLON
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MISS G. I. ELEFF
SECRETARY TO BOARD
420 LEXINGTON AVE.
ROOM 2101 MOHAWK 4-3330

DONALD S. HOWARD
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

HUGH R. JACKSON
CONSULTANT

December 15, 1937

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
36 West 135th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Randolph:

At Mr. Howard's request I am sending you the enclosed resume of the background, origin, and functions of the Advisory Committee on Negro Problems. He also requests that you return this paper to him at the meeting of the Board on Friday, December 17th.

Sincerely yours,

Dennis C. Muller

Secretary to Mr. Howard

A BRIEF RESUME OF THE BACKGROUND, ORIGIN, AND FUNCTIONS
Of
THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON NEGRO PROBLEMS — CONSULTANT
ON RACIAL PROBLEMS

The Emergency Relief Bureau began functioning in New York City in December, 1931 with a number of almost insurmountable handicaps. As a temporary organization, its policies and procedures were not clearly defined. Its personnel had been selected, for the most part, on a need basis and even some of its administrative leadership was selected because of availability to serve a temporary set-up rather than through careful selection for the purposes of administering outdoor public relief. It will be remembered that most of the communities in New York City had had some acquaintance with Work Relief but no experience with an outdoor public relief program. This temporary Emergency Relief Bureau set-up faced also a lack of awareness of the Negro and his particular problem as a member of the least acceptable minority in America.

Prior to 1929 there had been a feeling of progress in Harlem which Alain Locke described as a sort of "Negro Renaissance." It was difficult, therefore, for this same community to realize the grim realities of unemployment, part time employment, lower and lower wages, higher rents, excessive mortality, and the general exploitation which gripped the community with the advent of the depression.

From 1931 to 1935, the problems of the Negro in New York City were intensified. The individual community organizations and groups of citizens made every effort to be of assistance without much success. For example: During 1934 Negro organizations picketed the stores along 125th Street urging the boycott of those who refused to hire Negro sales help. For a time this was fairly successful but by the Spring of 1935, much of the Negro help employed had been dismissed on the grounds of poor business conditions.

The wages of Negro domestics had been so greatly reduced until many workers were refusing to accept full time jobs and were relying on picking up whatever days work they could on Bronx street corners.

The Negro professional found his patients unable to pay for services. White collar workers were finding practically no openings.

By this time, Negro newspapers, the general public, employed staff of the Emergency Relief Bureau, and employed workers on Works Progress Administration were charging discrimination and presenting along with these charges verifyable illustrative material. After much community insistence, Dr. Dean S. Yarbrough, a Negro, was employed on the administrative staff of

the Emergency Relief Bureau at Central Office. A report issued by him in April, 1935 discussed the general problem and then surveyed briefly Work Relief, Direct Relief, and Staff Employment.

WORK RELIEF

This quotation from the section on Work Relief reveals something of the problem which faced Negroes as late as April, 1935. Dr. Yarbrough states, "that a total of ten Negroes occupied supervisory positions, only two of whom received as much as $40.00 a week. A frequently heard complaint concerned the Harlem office of project #33 which employed 26 persons at that time under the supervision of a director and three assistants. Each received $22.00 a week as did each worker except the one white worker in the squad who received $27.00 a week. In fairness to this white worker, it should be stated that he was transferred to Harlem from another section. However, the fact of his presence on a slightly higher salary than the director and assistant supervisors was disturbing to the morale of the staff and objectionable to the community. It should also be pointed out that in other sections of the City, location directors received $36.00 per week and assistants $30.00 and $32.00 per week. The Works Division employed 89 Negroes and 1,265 whites in the Commodity Distribution Division. In the Harlem distributing centers, very few Negroes were on staff and numerous complaints were received."

On March 1, 1935 the Statistical and Research Department of the Works Division issued the following statement which Dr. Yarbrough quotes in his report: "The number of Negroes are 6.84% of the total. There are 111,000 Negroes over 21 years of age residing in New York City or 4.9% of the total population over 21. As the percentage of Negroes employed (8,191) of the total population (111,000) is 7.4%, it can readily be seen that the ratio between the Negroes employed to the total residents is approximately 1½ to 1. The Works Division interprets this to indicate that Negroes get their just share of Work Relief. However, in their survey of occupational characteristics of persons receiving relief, the Division of Research, Statistics, and Finance of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration states, "in May, 1934 of the 406,020 persons 16 years of age and over receiving relief in New York City, 58,950 or 14.51% were Negroes. The conclusion, as drawn on the basis of this report, indicates that Negroes seem to be entitled to 17,384 or 14.51% of the 119,814 jobs in the Works Division." A survey of the proportion of Work Relief cases in the caseloads in the various precincts revealed that Harlem precincts were receiving less Work Relief calls than other Districts. Dr. Yarbrough submitted the following sampling:

Harlem	D.O.	31	8.0%
		28	8.3
		32	10.0
		26	11.2
Some other Districts		18	22.3
		17	21.6
		5	27.8
		40	31.5

DIRECT RELIEF

"The complaints which were piling in concerning direct relief revealed that most of them requested additional rent and clothing. The Bureau was charged with paying less money per month for rents for Negroes than for whites." The doubling up of family units, roomers, splitting up of family units, and overcrowding have been inevitable results of the rent exploitation suffered by the Negro relief client. The charge that whites were receiving more rent than Negroes was proved untrue. However, it is important to note that the white relief client, with his freedom of movement and lower rents, has had a decided advantage over the Negro client in terms of the actual value of the relief check.

"The complaints concerning clothing were difficult to clarify because of the irregularity with which clothing was distributed by the Districts."

STAFF EMPLOYMENT

"In March, 1935 7% of the Emergency Relief Bureau staff was Negro. By this time through continuous community pressure, the Negro worker found it possible to secure positions in the Emergency Relief Bureau with comparative ease. However, there was a general tendency to employ him for the least desirable jobs and to fail to promote him to higher positions. In Manhattan, March 29, 1935, 337 Negroes constituted 15% of the 2,135 clerical workers. Of the 166 workers receiving more than $25.00 per week, only 9% were Negroes. Only two of the 49 occupational clerks were Negroes. On the surface, the 59 Negroes who were 16% of the 261 workers on the Temporary Emergency Relief Administration payroll would seem to indicate considerable opportunity for Negroes. However, with the exception of seven (two precinct administrators, four assistant supervisors, one office manager) they were in the lowest Temporary Emergency Relief Administration classification. Only two of the 24 insurance adjusters were Negroes although the four Harlem Districts employed five adjusters. There was no Negro case supervisor employed in Manhattan and the first office manager was appointed April, 1935."

During this entire period, organizations such as the Young Women's Christian Association, the Young Men's Christian Association, the National and local Urban Leagues, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the ministerial groups, etc., had been continuously making contacts with City officials in an effort to create for the Negro a normal relationship both with regard to direct relief, work relief, and employment on staff.

The Association of Workers in Public Relief Agencies, the Union in the Emergency Relief Bureau, through its active participation in the Joint Conference Against Discriminatory Practices (December, 1934) had been making an effort to understand the problems of Negro staff. Their problem was complicated by the fact that Negroes had been discriminated against by Unions over a long period and were not as ready to participate in organization as certain other groups in the Bureau.

Following Dr. Yarbrough's report (he was called Special Assistant on Racial Problems), a meeting was held in June, 1935 with a committee of prominent Harlem citizens known as "The Advisory Committee on Negro Problems." It will be remembered that Mr. William Hodson, who in April, 1934 was director of the Emergency Relief Bureau, had called together a citizens committee of 500 to work with the relief situation. The Harlem citizens, requested by Mr. Hodson to serve on this committee of 500, worked actively with the District Office in Harlem. After Mr. Hodson left the Bureau, these citizens worked with Mr. Corsi, Mr. Knauth, and later became the nucleus of an enlarged group called "The Advisory Committee on Negro Problems," which continued its cooperative relationship with the succeeding director, Miss Carr.

The Advisory Committee on Negro Problems, therefore, had considerable experience with the Emergency Relief Bureau prior to June, 1935, at which time the Emergency Relief Bureau was particularly anxious to have this experienced group continue their services to the Bureau and advise Dr. Yarbrough, who was new to the organization.

Quotations from the minutes of that first meeting revealed the two main areas in which there seemed to be need for cooperation. Mr. Falconer, who was present at that meeting, stated, "we wanted this Committee formed in order that it might cooperate with Dr. Yarbrough, whom we have appointed as Special Assistant on Racial Problems. Dr. Yarbrough's special responsibility will be to see that the policies developed as well as practices are not discriminatory against Negroes. We want them to have the same opportunities but we also want them to know the limitations of our Bureau, of our appropriations, etc. We want this Committee to work with Dr. Yarbrough and to keep him informed

of things that ought to be corrected. We would like the Committee to interpret to the community the things that we are doing and the limitations under which we work. We want them to know that we hope they will not make demands beyond our capacity to grant. The limitations placed upon us by finance are not understood by the community."

Immediately then, there was the recognition of the interpretive need faced by the community and the need for the study of general discrimination against Negroes in the Bureau. These minutes state also, "we know the Negro group has not had a break on Work Relief." Specific instances of discrimination were indicated by the Committee at this first meeting and were turned over to the Special Assistant for investigation.

It will be remembered that this June, 1935 meeting followed the riot of March, 1935 which was so erroneously described by some of the New York newspapers as a "race riot." Actually it was an economic flare up and had mainly to do with jobs and starvation rather than color.

During the period, June 1935 to March 1936, general studies of the situation were made and there was improvement in the basic understanding of the problem. In March, 1936 Dr. Yarbrough was released for a special survey study for the government and Miss Anna M. Arnold came to Central Office as Consultant on Racial Problems.

A review of the situation revealed that Negroes had three effective aids in any attempt to further improve their status in the Bureau at that time.

1. An Advisory Committee on Negro Problems which was representative and had the general respect of the community (see attached list) and the respect of the Bureau because many of its members had previously been very actively associated with the Harlem District Office.

2. A fairly clear picture of the situation as revealed through studies made by Dr. Yarbrough.

3. A Staff Relations Division which had a well set-up hearings machinery available to any staff member who felt that he had been a victim of discrimination because of race.

The job of Consultant on Racial Problems seemed to resolve itself into the following areas:

1. Consideration of promotions.

   Since it was evident that community confidence in the Bureau must be established because of obvious discrimination, it

seemed logical to work on the matter of promotions at once. During the period from March, 1936 to June, 1937 the increased promotional opportunities for Negro staff can best be revealed from the following figures:

April, 1935	June, 1937
9 (in higher categories)	67
	41 Assistant Supervisors
	3 additional Administrators
	4 Case Supervisors
	4 Office Managers
	5 Assistant Case Supervisors
	2 in the Personnel Division
	1 in the Legal Division
	1 in Business Administration
	1 in the Statistical Division
	2 Occupational Clerks
	1 Administrative staff - Central Office.
	3 in the Housing Division

These promotions served immediately as a stimulation to staff members for better performance and also had the planned effect of increased community confidence in the Bureau. These promotions also verified the existence of certain inequalities. For example: One Negro woman who had a B.A. Degree, a Master's, a New York School of Social Work certificate, and eight or nine years previous social work experience, had come to the Bureau in the lowest supervisory category at a time when standards were not high in the Bureau and white supervisors in many instances had much less training and previous experience. The worker, herself, had become bitter and had been made very much aware of prejudiced attitudes. Other Negro staff members who knew of her case felt that if she could not find opportunity, there was no possibility for them. Her promotion to case supervisor, therefore, had a very definite effect on the morale of the Negro staff.

It is only fair to point out also that some Negro staff did not have previous social work experience, which in 1935 became one of the Bureau requirements for supervisory staff. The Advisory Committee assisted in the interpretation at this point of the fact that social agencies by and large do not give the Negro worker opportunity for supervisory experience. They requested that where the training, length, and quality of performance in the Bureau of a Negro worker proved to be adequate, that that Negro be given supervisory opportunity even though

his experience previous to his employment with the Emergency Relief Bureau might not qualify him. During this period, at least 85 staff members made contacts with members of the Advisory Committee to ask that their personnel records be reviewed and that consideration be given them for promotional opportunity. Some of the personnel evaluations made in District Offices revealed definite discriminatory attitudes and these were brought to the attention of the Personnel Division. In some instances, the worker was transferred in order to have a new type of supervision and in some instances, a direct promotion was instigated through the efforts of the Division. In other instances, individual Negro staff members were simply unwilling to face their own inadequacies and they were called in for interview in the Personnel Division, or with the Consultant on Racial Problems, depending on the given situation.

2. The effort to give Negro staff opportunities outside of the Harlem area in order that they might have the broadening experience and contact with other communities in New York.

This involved a careful selection of Negroes who were especially well qualified in order that Districts outside of the Harlem area would not complain that Negro workers could not meet the standard of the particular office. It also meant interpretation to administrators of the reasons for sending them Negro staff even though they might not have Negro clientele in the District. There was also the need to discuss with administrators the tendency to give the Negro worker a Negro caseload on the assumption that he would have difficulty with a white caseload. Occasionally, a District was afraid to use a Negro in Intake, claiming that the clientele might object. These problems had to be worked through with the individual administrators. For example: An administrator in an outlying office was afraid to use a Negro worker, who was ready for promotion, in her Intake. After some discussion, the worker was allowed to serve in Intake and none of the problems, expected by the administrator, manifested themselves. It was important in this connection to stress the need for white workers in the Bureau to have contact with Negro workers.

3. Continuous interpretation of the policies of the Bureau to organizations and individuals making inquiries.

Many community organizations made inquiries about policies and questioned certain staff situations and client problems.

The organizations on the attached list have had a continuous contact with the office of the Consultant on Racial Problems. Sometimes these contacts called for speeches by the Consultant, often there was an effort to clarify policies in order that a magazine or a newspaper would not again make charges against the Bureau which could not be substantiated and, in many instances, client and staff problems were reported with requests for study and a report of findings.

Occasionally, organizations planned mass meetings around the relief situation. It was always necessary to watch for newspaper announcements of such meetings and to pick up flyers which were circulated in the community in order that the Consultant's office might contact individual speakers and explain relief policies or clarify any situation which the organization sponsoring such a meeting might unintentionally misrepresent.

4. Continuous interpretation to division heads at Central Office and to administrative staff in District Offices of some of the problems faced by Negro staff.

The Consultant had the privilege of contacting the division heads directly whenever problems arose which effected the particular division. For example: There was considerable complaint about the need for Negro occupational clerks in the Emergency Relief Bureau. Naturally, the first place of attack was Harlem and a request that the Harlem Districts have Negro occupational clerks. The Occupational Division was immediately contacted and a general discussion of the problem ensued. There was a question as to whether Negroes wanted only Negro workers in Harlem and it was explained that the only reason for the emphasis on Harlem was the fact that it was logical for the group to feel that if they could not get Negroes accepted in the normal way in the Bureau, that they could insist that those workers who were in responsible jobs in Harlem be Negroes. The Occupational Division was cooperative and agreed to make it possible for more Negroes to have this type of experience.

5. Regular meetings with the Advisory Committee in order that there be continuous interpretation of the policies of the Bureau and a continuous channel through which the Committee

reported problems which seemed important for the Bureau to discuss.

The Advisory Committee met regularly on an average of twice a month. The Consultant and the Chairman of the Committee were always present at these meetings. The Consultant reported regularly on any progress made and made note of suggestions which were made by the Committee on general conditions in the Bureau as well as specific problems faced by the community.

6. An occasional planned meeting with the Executive Director for the clarification of any areas which the Committee felt needed additional discussion.

These meetings were sometimes used also for special requests which the Committee wanted to make directly of the Director. Occasionally, it was helpful for the Director to present changes in policy direct to the Committee in order that they might assist in community interpretation. These meetings were of very real value to the Director and the Committee. The community benefited because no changes which were formulated came as a shock to them. The Committee had opportunity for interpretation to ministerial associations and on occasion to the newspapers. They also were able to reply intelligently to individual inquiries which came to them because of their respective positions in the community.

7. The need for a careful plan in order that Negroes not suffer unduly by dismissals.

In one particular layoff, Negroes had suffered unduly because of the seniority ruling. Since they were the last employed, they were naturally the first to be dismissed under such a ruling. This was brought to the attention of the administration and at the time of rehiring, Negroes, whose performance was satisfactory and who had suffered under this ruling, were rehired. In succeeding dismissals, there was an effort to maintain the ratio of Negroes to general staff in order that Negroes not suffer unduly from the seniority ruling.

8. Cooperation with the Staff Relations Division.

This has been as important as any of the functions of the Consultant's office. When dismissals occurred and discriminatory charges were brought, the Consultant sat in on the hearing as an impartial observer. This gave an opportunity for unbiased interpretation to interested community. These hearings have been particularly helpful in the establishment of better racial understanding because the chairman of the hearings has been very skillful in his insistence that discrimination be proved by those bringing the charges.

9. Regular meetings with the Metropolitan Relief Workers Guild, an organization of Negro workers in the Bureau.

This organization grew up out of the dissatisfaction of Negro staff and out of the desire for leadership of several staff members. It had certain relationships to individuals in the community which made it very necessary that the Bureau be aware of all of the activities of the organization. The Staff Relations Division was very much aware of this whole situation and the Consultant continuously reported on community reaction to the organization. The Guild met with the Staff Relations Division each week and the Consultant attended these meetings. This aided in keeping the group from misrepresenting material and also assisted in clarification for the Staff Relations Division. General policies were carefully interpreted to the group by the administrator of Staff Relations and individual situations were discussed with them by the assistant to the administrator.

10. The Union occasionally contacted the office of the Consultant on Racial Problems for clarification of the racial angle of a given situation.

11. Continuous interpretation to the administration with regard to problems faced by relief clients. Some of the problems discussed have included:

1. The higher rents paid in the Harlem community.

2. The difficulty in establishing residence because of the large number of roomers in the community who move very often.

3. The difficulties faced by Negro clients who were required to secure birth certificates for one reason or another. Here it was important to indicate that many Southern states do not register the birth of Negroes.

4. The interpretation of difficulties surrounding the attempts of many Negro clients to give a chronological picture of employment since such employment was often spasmodic and was not secured through any regular agency.

5. Discussions of the fact that many Negro clients complained that they were not being referred to Works Progress Administration and to other employment in proportion to other groups. There was particular complaint that white collar workers had almost no opportunity for placement.

Aside from the functions mentioned above, the Consultant on Racial Problems has been available at all times to the Executive Director for the discussion of any community problems which had been called to her attention, for follow-up of community complaints which had been directly registered with her office, and for regular discussions of problems faced by the Consultant.

On July 9, 1936 Dr. John H. Johnson, Chairman of the Advisory Committee on Negro Problems, was officially appointed a member of the Emergency Relief Bureau Board by Mayor Fiorella H. LaGuardia. This appointment was heralded by the community as a concrete expression of the desire of the City administration and the Emergency Relief Bureau to give every possible consideration to the problems of Negroes.

The Advisory Committee was particularly gratified with the appointment because they felt that Dr. Johnson's experience with the relief situation in general would make him valuable to the Board in terms of the City-wide problems faced by the Emergency Relief Bureau as well as in terms of the Negro situation. Dr. Johnson has interviewed hundreds of clients in his own office, has counseled with Negro staff, and has interpreted the policies and procedures of the Bureau to the clergy, the press, and interested citizens. He has also continued to serve as the Chairman of the Advisory Committee on Negro Problems.

The Negro community is very anxious to maintain the gains which they feel have been made by Negroes in the Emergency Relief Bureau. The Advisory Committee on Negro Problems feels a particular responsibility in this matter both to the community and to the Emergency Relief Bureau.

In light of this, they would like to make the following recommendations:

1. That the plan for re-alignment to the Department of Public Welfare be presented to them in order that intelligent suggestions or requests might be made in terms of Negro staff.

2. That it is very important to have a qualified Negro in the kind of position in the new Department of Public Welfare plan which would make it possible for that individual to participate in the discussion of procedures and policies.

3. The Committee is interested in knowing whether there will be some appointive positions in the Department of Public Welfare and would like to see some Negroes have opportunity for such appointive positions.

In other words, the Committee would like to have an opportunity to discuss the question of the integration of Negroes into the Department of Public Welfare before plans are solidified.

THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON NEGRO PROBLEMS

1. Rev. John H. Johnson, Chairman 18 W. 122nd St. Harlem 7-9451	Member of the Emergency Relief Bureau Board Vicar, St. Martin's Church Chairman - Advisory Committee on Negro Problems.
2. Mr. Richard E. Carey, Secretary 2376 Seventh Ave. Edgecombe 4-5775	Assistant District Attorney. Secretary - Advisory Committee on Negro Problems.
3. Mrs. Bessye Bearden 50 Morningside Ave. Lackawanna 4-9400	Member - Advisory Committee on Negro Problems. Member - Advisory Committee - North Harlem Community Council. Member - Committee - Independent Citizens Committee. Newspaper woman.
4. Dr. Jose N. Cesteros 70 W. 120th St. Harlem 7-1624	Member - Advisory Committee on Negro Problems. Leader - Spanish-speaking community. Executive Chairman - Committee for the Betterment of Puerto Rican Problems. Chairman - Jose N. Cesteros Association. President - Puerto Rican Committee of One Thousand.
5. Dr. Channing H. Tobias 347 Madison Ave. Vanderbilt 3-1200	Member - Advisory Committee on Negro Problems. Senior Secretary - National Council of the Y.M.C.A.'s.
6. Dr. May E. Chinn 44 Edgecombe Ave. Audubon 3-1234	Member - Advisory Committee on Negro Problems. Member - Central Harlem Medical Society Member - Executive Board - New York Urban League.
7. Dr. Farrow R. Allen 337 W. 138th St. Edgecombe 4-5217	Member - Advisory Committee on Negro Problems. Member - Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity Member - Manhattan Medical Society Member - Board of Managers - Y.M.C.A.

8. Mr. A. Philip Randolph 36 W. 135th St. Tillinghast 5-1843	Member - Advisory Committee on Negro Problems. President & Organizer - Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. President - National Negro Congress. President - Board of Directors - Consumers Cooperatives. Member - Industrial Committee - Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America.
9. Rev. George H. Sims 131 W. 131st St. Tillinghast 5-1239	Member - Advisory Committee on Negro Problems. Pastor - Union Baptist Church President - New York State Baptist Convention.
10. Rev. F. A. Cullen 209 W. 129th St. University 4-4053	Member - Advisory Committee on Negro Problems. Member - Advisory Committee - North Harlem Community Council. President - Methodist Preachers Association. Pastor - Salem M. E. Church.
11. Rev. William Lloyd Imes 409 W. 141st St. Audubon 3-5050	Member - Advisory Committee on Negro Problems. Member - Advisory Committee - North Harlem Community Council. Member - Board of Directors - N.A.A.C.P. Vice Chairman - New York Urban League. Member - Advisory Board - American Civil Rights Association. Member - Executive Committee - Consolidated Tenants League. Pastor - St. James Presbyterian Church.
12. Mr. Robert G. Jones Bronx House 1637 Washington Ave., Bronx	Member - Advisory Committee on Negro Problems. Director - Community Boys Club, P.S. #55, Bronx. Member - American Society for Race Tolerance - Chairman - Educational Committee.

13. Mr. Charles Hanson 137 W. 142nd St. Edgecombe 4-8225	Member - Advisory Committee on Negro Problems. Chairman - Harlem Committee on Public Policy. Chairman - Harlem Consumers Cooperatives
14. Mr. James Hubert 202-6 W. 136th St. Edgecombe 4-9600-1-2	Member - Advisory Committee on Negro Problems. Executive Director - New York Urban League. Member - Executive Committee - New York State Conference on Negro Welfare. Member - Executive Board - Citizens Christmas Cheer Committee, Inc. Member - Executive Committee - Harlem Committee on Public Policy. Executive Committee - Chairman - New York State Conference on Social Work Among Negroes. Member - Executive Committee - West Harlem Council of Social Agencies.
15. Father Michael Mulvoy 65 W. 138th St. Edgecombe 4-0670	Member - Advisory Committee on Negro Problems. Priest - St. Marks Catholic Church. Member - Advisory Committee - North Harlem Community Council.
16. Mrs. Cecelia Cabaniss Saunders 179 W. 137th St. Audubon 3-2777	Member - Advisory Committee on Negro Problems. Executive Secretary - Y.W.C.A. Member - Advisory Committee - North Harlem Community Council. Member - Executive Committee - New York State Conference on Negro Welfare. Member - Executive Committee - Harlem Committee on Public Policy. Member - Executive Committee - West Harlem Council of Social Agencies.
17. Mr. Henry K. Craft 180 W. 135th St. Tillinghast 5-3800	Member - Advisory Committee on Negro Problems. Executive Secretary - Y.M.C.A. Member - Executive Committee - New York State Conference on Negro Welfare. Member - Executive Committee - Harlem Committee on Public Policy

18. Mr. Robert J. Elzy 105 Fleet Pl., Bklyn. Triangle 5-9863	Member - Advisory Committee on Negro Problems. Executive Secretary - Brooklyn Urban League. Member - Brooklyn Council for Social Planning. Member - Council of Social Agencies.
19. Rev. John W. Robinson 118 W. 130th St. Harlem 7-0866	Member - Advisory Committee on Negro Problems. Pastor - Christ Community Church President - Interdenominational Preachers Meeting of Greater New York and Vicinity. President - Permanent Committee for Better Schools.

Organizations which have contacted the Consultant on Racial Problems.

6

LIST OF ORGANIZATIONS

Name, Address, Telephone Number	Officer
1. The Advisory Committee on Negro Problems 18 W. 122nd St. Harlem 7-9451	Rev. John H. Johnson, Chairman
2. The Afro American Voters Coalition, Inc. 151 Lenox Ave. Monument 2-1024	Mr. Victor E. Williams, President & Organizer
3. The American Civil Rights Association 4 E. 116th St. University 4-9052	Mr. Edward Pedro, Acting President.
4. The American Color-View 260 W. 124th St.	Mr. Capres Gunther, Editor & Publisher
5. The American Society for Race Tolerance 1165 Broadway Murray Hill 4-6340	Professor Bernard Grebanier, Executive Secretary
6. The Anti Job Discrimination League, Inc. 401 Broadway Canal 6-2820	Robert T. Bess Executive Director
7. The A.W.P.R.A. 235 Seventh Ave. - Watkins 9-6270 Harlem Office - 312 W. 125th St. Monument 2-4889	Sam Sorkin, General Manager Arnold Johnson and William Gaulden - Harlem organizers.
8. Bakery & Confectionery Workers, Local #87 232 W. 22nd St.	Mr. Frank Ibanez, Acting Secretary
9. The Beaver-Ramapo Democratic Club 728 St. Nicholas Ave. Audubon 3-8703	Mr. H. L. Bruce Executive Member
10. The Better Harlem Association of Lower Harlem 1400 Fifth Ave.	Joseph Ritzberg Executive Secretary
11. The Brooklyn Urban League 105 Fleet Pl., Bklyn. Triangle 5-9863	Mr. Robert J. Elzy Executive Secretary
12. The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters 36 W. 135th St. Tillinghast 5-1843	Mr. A. Philip Randolph President & Organizer

LIST OF ORGANIZATIONS

13.	The Charity Club Box 56, Station I	Mr. Lewis Seymour President
14.	The Citizens Christmas Cheer Committee, Inc. 80 St. Nicholas Pl. Edgecombe 4-2800	Mrs. Maine L. Briggs, President
15.	C. T. Nesbitt Committee of 1000 211 W. 149th St. Edgecombe 4-5115	C. T. Nesbitt, Organizer
16.	The Commonwealth League of New York City 115 W. 131st St.	Mr. Archibald M. Ray, President.
17.	The Community Welfare and Recreational Center of the Golden Seal Hall 295 W. 142nd St. - top floor Audubon 3-8568 - 8633	Mr. Sisco, Manager Mr. Victor Jarvis, President.
18.	The Consolidated Tenants League 209 W. 125th St. - Suite 204 Monument 2-3759	Donelan J. Phillips President
19.	Consumers & Craftsmen Guild 2257 Seventh Ave. - c/o De Silva	Ralph O. Gothard Executive Director
20.	Eustace V. Dench 209 W. 125th St. Cathedral 8-2350	Alderman
21.	Rev. Pedro De Costello First Liberian Baptist Church 254 W. 115th St.	Rev. De Costello, Pastor
22.	Domestic Workers Union, Local #149 2541 White Plains Road, Bronx	Mrs. Elizabeth Kenny
23.	Employment Service - Department of Labor Government of Puerto Rico 1400 Fifth Ave.	J. M. Vivaldi Chief
24.	Ethiopian Pacific Movement, Inc. 204 Lenox Ave. - 2nd floor	Robert O. Jordan, President General
25.	The Federation of Engineers, Architects, Chemists, Technicians. 119 E. 18th St. Algonquin 4-7532	Marcel Sherer General Organizer

26.	The Frederick Douglass Club 227 Lenox Ave.	
27.	Furriers' Joint Council 250 W. 26th St.	W. Woliner, Secretary
28.	Oscar Garcia-Rivera 1360 Fifth Ave.	A leader - Spanish-speaking community
29.	Calvin Publishing Corp. 139-43 W. 125th St.	Floyd J. Calvin, President
30.	R. P. Braddicks Dunbar National Bank 2298 Seventh Ave. Audubon 3-0900	R. P. Braddicks, Assistant Vice President
31.	Central Islip State Hospital Central Islip, New York	Dr. Corcoran, Superintendent
32.	Harlem Children's Fresh Air Fund, Inc. 2303 Eighth Ave.	Guildford M. Crawford, Secretary
33.	Harlem Committee on Public Policy 180 W. 135th St. Edgecombe 4-8225	Charles M. Hanson, Chairman
34.	Harlem Labor Union, Inc. 261 Lenox Ave.	Ira Kemp, President
35.	Harlem League for Fair Play 2152 Seventh Ave.	Leroy Hudson, President
36.	Harlem Unemployment Committee Council 16-18 W. 136th St. c/o Mrs. St. Jacques	Mr. John Carter, Chairman
37.	Holy Trinity Mission 1549 Madison Ave.	Rev. Joseph Haviland
38.	The Home Journal News 2151 Seventh Ave.	George W. Harris, Editor
39.	The Inter-Denominational Preachers Meeting of Greater New York and Vicinity Meets at: Salem M. E. Church 129th St. & 7th Ave.	Rev. John W. Robinson, President 118 W. 130th St. Harlem 7-0866

40.	Investors Home Builders Association, Inc. 2003-5 Seventh Ave.	Rev. Davis, Chairman
41.	The Joint Conference Against Discriminatory Practices 139 W. 125th St.	Arnold P. Johnson, Executive Secretary
42.	The Katy Ferguson Home 162 W. 130th St.	Miss Phoebe Felts, Director
43.	Lower Harlem Citizens Committee 1357 Fifth Ave. Cathedral 8-0276	Charles T. Romney, Chairman
44.	Metropolitan Relief Workers Guild 120 W. 135th St.	John A. Scott, President
45.	Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board 4 Smithfield St. Pittsburgh, Pa.	George Mills, Executive Director
46.	The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People 69 Fifth Ave. Algonquin 4-3551	Walter White, Secretary
47.	Jamaica Branch - The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People Jamaica, N. Y. Jamaica 6-6873	Dr. John A. Singleton President
48.	The National Negro Congress 36 W. 135th St. Tillinghast 5-1843	Mr. A. Philip Randolph, National President
49.	The National Urban League 1133 Broadway - Room 826 Chelsea 3-1838-39	Eugene Kinckle Jones Executive Secretary
50.	The National Youth Administration 205 E. 42nd St.	Mr. A. G. Fallings, Assistant Director 200 W. 135th St. - Room 212 Edgecombe 4-7130
51.	The Negro Labor Committee 312 W. 125th St.	Frank R. Crosswaith, Chairman
52.	The Negro National Hospital Fund 135-09 37th Ave. Flushing, N. Y.	Rev. Amos H. Carnegie Executive Secretary

53.	The Neighborhood Development Association 1949 Seventh Ave.	C. T. Romney, President
54.	The New York Age 230 W. 135th St. Edgecombe 4-3640-1	Fred R. Moore, Editor
55.	The New York State Conference on Negro Welfare 185 W. 135th St.	Samuel A. Allen, President Courtland 7-9800
56.	The New York State Employment Service 200 W. 135th St. Edgecombe 4-6211	Mrs. Carita V. Roane, Manager
57.	The New York Urban League 202-6 W. 136th St. Edgecombe 4-9600-1-2	James H. Hubert, Executive Director
58.	The North Harlem Community Council Meets at: 252 W. 138th St. every Monday.	Mr. Emilio Ramery, Chairman 243 W. 145th St.
59.	The Parents Organization of East Lower Harlem 1785 Madison Ave.	Mr. James Farrell, President
60.	The Permanent Committee for Better Schools in Harlem 202 W. 136th St.	Rev. John W. Robinson, President Harlem 7-0866
61.	Puerto Rican Political & Social League, Inc. 131 W. 116th St. Cathedral 8-4981	W. L. Martinez, Secretary
62.	The Puerto Rican Service Center of New York, Inc. 103 W. 110th St. Monument 2-1565	Mr. Eligio F. Ros, Chairman 230 Park Ave.
63.	Rock Drillers Union, Local #250 121 E. 116th St.	Mr. E. E. Williams, Financial Secretary
64.	Santori, Ralph 12 Charles St., Bklyn. (now) 330 E. 100th St.	A leader - Spanish-speaking community - Brooklyn.
65.	Spanish Fathers' Council, U.S.I.S. 766 Cauldwell Ave., Bronx	Stephen Negron, President

66.	The Spanish Welfare League 1357 Fifth Ave.	Mr. E. E. Wilson, Chairman
67.	The State Commission to Study Conditions of New York's Urban Negro Population. 36 W. 44th St. Murray Hill 2-2254	Mr. Lester B. Granger, Executive Director
68.	State of Affairs 799 Broadway - Room 436	M. Don, Director
69.	The Teachers Union 114 E. 16th St.	Charles J. Hendley, President
70.	The T.E.R.A. 79 Madison Ave. Lexington 2-8900	Frederick I. Daniels, Executive Director
71.	The United Aid for Peoples of African Descent, Inc. 119 W. 131st St.	Miss Vivienne France Executive Secretary 200 W. 135th St.
72.	United Civil Rights Committee of Harlem 209 W. 125th St.	Mr. Horace I. Gordon Chairman
73.	The Universal Negro Improvement Association Central Division - 204 Lenox Ave.	Capt. A. L. King, President
74.	The Universal Negro Improvement Association 2290 Dean St., Bklyn. (The Civic and Political League of the East Brooklyn Division, U.N.I.A.)	Adronicus Jacobs, Chairman
75.	The Utility Workers Union, Local #1212 3 Albee Square, Bklyn.	Jack Schubert, Recording Secretary
76.	The Virgin Islands Civic Association 36-38 W. 135th St. Tillinghast 5-1843	Ashley L. Totten, President
77.	Tuberculosis Clinic 111 W. 116th St.	Dr. John B. West
78.	The Workers Alliance 101 W. 28th St. Chickering 4-6443	Sam Wiseman, Secretary Mr. Merrill Work Harlem Representative 107-9 W. 133rd St.

79.	WPA 70 Columbus Ave. Circle 6-4000	Col. Brehon B. Somervell Administrator Lemuel L. Foster, Chief Race Relations Bureau
80.	Yoruba Literary & Debating Club 180 W. 135th St.	Grenville Gill Secretary
81.	Y.M.C.A. 180 W. 135th St. Tillinghast 5-3800	Henry K. Craft Executive Secretary
82.	Y.W.C.A. 179 W. 137th St. Audubon 3-2777	Mrs. C. C. Saunders Executive Secretary
83.	The New Abyssinian Baptist Church 138th St. bet 7th and Lenox Ave. Audubon 3-1176	Rev. A. Clayton Powell, Jr.
84.	The New Mother A.M.E. Zion Church 140-6 W. 137th St.	Rev. B. C. Roberson 156 W. 136th St.
85.	St. Jude's Episcopal Church 19 W. 99th St. Academy 2-8531	Rev. F. Howard
86.	Federation of American Virgin Islands Societies 335 Edgecombe Ave.	Miss A. C. Burnett, Chairman
87.	New York District Grand Lodge #57 880 St. Nicholas Ave.	Mr. D. N. Thompson District Grand Secretary
88.	The Chicago Defender 2247 Seventh Ave. Tillinghast 5-4059	Mrs. Bessye Bearden Lackawanna 4-9400
89.	The Harlem Civic League 411 Convent Ave.	Mrs. Elizabeth R. Haynes
90.	All Souls Church 88 St. Nicholas Ave. Monument 2-3437	Rollins Dodd, Rector

91.	New York University School of Education Washington Square, N.Y.	Rhea Kay Boardman
92.	Central Republican Club 229 Lenox Ave. University 4-2252	Mark E. Rivers Executive Member
93.	New Jersey State Teachers College Montclair, N. J.	Professor Edgar C. Bye Director - Field Studies Courses.
94.	The Amsterdam News 2271 Seventh Ave. Tillinghast 5-1760	Powell-Savory Corp. - Owners & Publishers
95.	The Harlem Church Youth Council 103 W. 137th St. Audubon 3-1878	Miss Olivia Stokes Business Manager
96.	Harlem Consumers Cooperators 105 E. 22nd St. - Room 626 Edgecombe 4-8225	C. M. Hanson, Chairman
97.	Hunter College High School 320 E. 96th St.	Mrs. Louisa M. Webster, Principal

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

SUBJECT FILE

Membership In Club
And Other Organizations

1943-73

P. Pinard

August 8, 1945

Mr. John L. Gardner, Secretary
Joppa Lodge, No. 65, F & A. M.
Prince Hall
New York, New York

Dear Sir and Brother:

Permit me to thank you for your letter of July 28, 1945 with application for restoration to membership in Joppa Lodge for the payment of $7.50.

I am herewith enclosing check for same, and I am glad to be restored to the fellowship of this great order.

Fraternally yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR:MB

Zelton Haywood, W. M.
4060 Carpenter Avenue
New York, N. Y.

John H. Gardeen SEC'Y
237 West 133rd. St.
New York 30/ N. Y.

Joppa Lodge, No. 55, F. & A. M.

(PRINCE HALL)

NEW YORK, N. Y. July 20th. 1943. 194

Mr. Asa Philip Randolph,

New Yor, New York.

Dear sir & Brother:

Some time ago Bro. Edward E. Hopkins, Pastmaster of Antioch Lodge No. 66 informed me that it was your desire to return to your lodge, hence at our last regular communicationbheld at the Masonic Temple #237 West 120th. Street, New York City on June 26th. L943, your name was presented to the lodge with the prospects of you restoring yourself to good standing therein, therefore by unanimous vote of the members I have been instructed to communicate with you. I am herewith inclosing you a petition for restoration, which if you are still interested in your Masonic Lodge, kindly sign and return to the undersigned toghther with fee.

The fee for restoration is; One year lodge dues $6.00 and $1.50 Grand Lodge Tax for restoration, total $7.50.

Fraternally,

John H. Gardeen.

John H. Gardeen, Secretary.
237 West 133rd. Street, N.Y.C.

APPLICATION FOR RESTORATION

New York, New York.....1943

To the Worshipful Master,
Wardens and Brethren of
Joppa Lodge No. 65 F. & A. M.
New York, New York.

Greetings:

The undersigned, formerly a member of your lodge who became un-affiliated for the non-payment of dues and Grand Lodge taxes, respectfully represent that I am desirous of being restored to good standing in the lodge, promising that should my prayer be granted I will faithfully observe a strict conformity to the By-laws, the Constitution, Statutes, Laws and Regulations of the Most Worshipful Grand Lodge and of Ancient Craft Masonry.

In testimony of such willingness I am herewith submitting the sum of seven dollars ($7.50) and fifty cents, the amount required by law for such restoration.

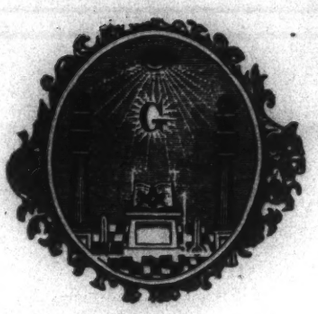
Fraternally,

Asa Philip Randolph
NAME IN FULL

230 W. 150 St. Apt. 3B
ADDRESS

New York City, N.Y.

Zelton Haywood, W. M.
4060 Carpenter Avenue,
New York City.



John H. Gardeen, SEC'Y.
237 West 133rd. St.
New York, 30, N.Y.

Personal

Joppa Lodge, No. 55, F. & A. M.

(PRINCE HALL)

NEW YORK, N. Y. December 11th. 1943. 194

Dearsir and Brother:

You are hereby advised that our next regular communication will be held on Saturday evening, December 18th. 1943 instead of the 25th. at the Masonic Temple, #235-37 West 120th. Street, New York City. The gavel will be sound at 8 o'clock promptly and you are earnestly requested to be present.

There will be the election and installation of officers for the ensuing year of 1943-1944, and at the same time the Worshipful Master will render a report of his stewardship for the past year, also the Treasurer and Secretary will render their annual reports.

We regret exceedingly to report the death of our late Past Grand Master, Brother Joseph Sullivan. His funeral services were held in Troy, New York on November 30th. 1943.

SPECIAL NOTICE

Grand Master Louis Fair, Jr., having accepted the invitation to attend the Divine Thanksgiving Services for Order of Eastern Stars, Inc. Eureka Grand Chapter to be held on Sunday evening, December 26th. 1943 at St. Marks M. E. Church, 138th. Street and Edgecombe Avenue, he is requesting all Master Masons to meet with him at the Church at 7 P. M. in order that the fraternity may be well represented and proper assistance rendered the ladies of the Order.

After the close of the lodge, we will assemble at the Wellworth Tavern, 126th. Street and 7th. Avenue where a collation will be served by a special committee for the members, their wives or lady friend and each member is requested to donate $1.00 towards this expense. Kindly see either Bro. Larmon Willis of Bro. James E. Scott for this.

Brother William F. Durham is still confined at Bellevue Hospital, Ward 9, He will be very pleased to have the brothers visit him.

In the event of your inability to be present, we wish you a Very Merry Christmas and a Happy and Prosperous New Year.

Fraternally,
Zelton Haywood,
Master.

Attest;
John H. Gardeen, Secty.

P. S. Kindly keep in mind your obligation to the lodge, the War Fund drive, also the Immediate Relief Society.

Personal

November 26, 1943

Mr. John H. Gardenn, Secretary
Joppa Lodge, No. 55, F. & A. M.
237 West 133rd Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir and Brother:

I just got back from a trip of about four weeks and keenly regret that I will not be able to attend the communication of November 27th.

I am sending you my dollar for the Grand Lodge War Fund Drive and also $1.50 for the Immediate Relief Society and will be glad to pay the $1.10 for the death of a member.

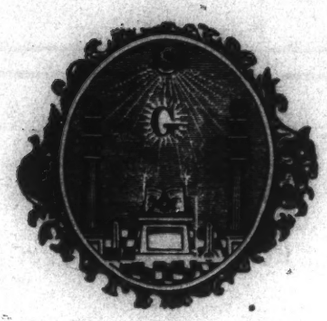
Fraternally yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR:ha
Encs.

XF:GE
23076

Zelton Haywood W. M.
4060 Carpenter Avenue,
New York City, N.Y.



John H. Gardeen SEC'Y.
237 West 133rd. St.,
New York, 30/ N.Y.

Joppa Lodge, No. 55, F. & A. M.

(PRINCE HALL)

NEW YORK, N. Y. November 19th. 1943. 194

Dear sir and Brother:

As this month ends our Masonic year, our next stated communication will be held at the Masonic Temple, #235-37 West 120th. Street, New York City on Saturday evening November 27th. 1943. The gavel will be sound promptly at 8 o'clock as we expect to confer the Sublime Degree of a Master Mason on several Fellow Crafts and we hope you will be present to assist in the work.

We wish also to call your attention to your financial obligation to the lodge. If there is anything due on same, kindly see the Secretary.

The Secretary, Bro. Alton Haywood, of the Dance and Frolic Committee requests that each brother who have secured tickets etc., for the same, to make final returns at our next communication. (Nov. 27th.)

The Grand Lodge War Fund drive is still on and if you have not contributed your dollar towards same, we earnestly request thatyou do so at this meeting.

Your attention is called to the Immediate Relief Society connected with our Grand Lodge. Cost only $1.50 to join, no monthly dues, the payment of $1.10 at the death of a member. If you are not a member, give it some consideration. All Master Masons in good standing are eligible.

Fraternally,

Attest:
John H. Gardeen, Secty.

Zelton Haywood, Master.

December 18, 1945

Mr. Henry G. Walton, Secretary
Voluntary Immediate Relief Fund
Of the 1st Shannic Dist. Assn.
127 West 111 Street, Apt. 6
New York, 26, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

Find enclosed blank filled in as requested.

Fraternally yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR:hm
Enc.

APR:OS
AX076

Personal

Office of the Secretary.

THE
VOLUNTARY IMMEDIATE RELIEF FUND
of the
1st Masonic Dist. Assn.
New York.-P. H.

December 14, 1943.

Mr. A. Philip Randolph,
217 W. 125 Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir and Brother:

Enclosed herewith is a receipt (#201) in the sum of $1.50, your initial payment for membership in the above named organization.

Also enclosed herein is a copy of the By-Laws. Please write-in the required information and return to me at your earliest convenience, retaining the larger portion.

Fraternally yours,

Henry E. Walton,
Secretary.

127 W. 111 Street
Apt. 6-E.
N. Y.-26-N. Y.

The Voluntary

Immediate Relief Fund

of

The First Masonic District Association

The M. A. and B. F. of Free and Accepted Masons State of New York. (P. H.)

BY-LAWS

1. I, the undersigned, a member of

Lodge, S ..... F. & A. M. (P.H.) New York City, New York County, New York State, hereby agree that upon signing this agreement, I will contribute the sum of One ($1.) Dollar and Fifty Cents to the Treasury of this Association, and upon notice of the death of any member or members hereof, I further agree to contribute the sum of One Dollar ($1.00) and Ten Cents for each and every death as occurring. And in default of such contribution within a (10) days of such notification, I hereby consent to have my name struck off from the roll of membership of this organization.

2. That the object of this Association is to provide a Fund which is an amount to a sum of money equaling the Dollar ($1.00) and cents to the membership belonging to the Association in good standing at the time of the decease of a brother member, and be known as "The Voluntary Immediate Relief Fund of the First Masonic District Association—The M. A. and B. F. of F. & A. M. of the State of New York, P. H.," located at New York City, and open to all those now

connected with the above named or any other Lodge in the First Masonic District in good standing, also those who may become members, it being distinctly understood that members of Lodges located in any other Masonic District in this Grand Jurisdiction shall not be eligible to membership unless he or they become affiliated in this First District by actual membership.

3. That the Funds so raised shall upon proper notification to the Officers of this Association of the death of a member, be paid immediately to the beneficiary as designated by the brother, and the payment of such Fund shall be a full discharge of the obligation of the Association to the estate of said deceased brother.

4. That it is expressly stipulated and agreed that the suspension, expulsion, dimit or otherwise severing of my connection with the above named Lodge or any other Lodge of which I might subsequently become a member in the First Masonic District, except by death, will in itself be a discharge from membership of this Association and no further payment will be accepted from such a member, nor shall the beneficiary or beneficiaries of such a previous member be entitled to any benefits from this Association, notwithstanding that he may have contributed to the Fund then in hand at the time of his demise.

5. That any member omitting to pay his DUES within the prescribed time shall be reinstated upon his written application to the governing Officers, accompanied with the amount of DUES owing, together with a fine of Five (5) percent per month for the overtime taken (any portion of a calendar month to be counted as a whole month) provided a death has not occurred during such omission, and in that event, the member so reinstated shall pay an amount equalling all the assessments paid by his brother members during his lapse of payments, together with the fines for the time he has been delinquent; the governing officers, however, to have the power

to remit the due on account of sickness, absence or other good cause when properly vouched for.

6. All postured assessments thus collected shall be credited to the several mortuary Funds to which they may belong and at suitable times they shall be paid to the beneficiary for whom they were originally assessed; provided however, that such credit shall be made within one (1) year from the date of the decease of the brother and all collections made after one (1) year shall be credited to the general Fund, and when such surplus Fund equals the amount of one (1) full assessment that it be used for that purpose and no assessment be levied.

7. That the executive Officers of this Association shall consist of a President, Vice-President, Secretary and Treasurer who shall be elected to get together as a governing Committee of the Association, said Officers to be bonded in such sum and by such Company as chosen by the Association. The governing Committee as a whole shall have charge of the funds of the Association, which shall be deposited in a bank and two (2) signatures of the governing Committee shall be necessary to withdraw said Funds or any part thereof.

8. That it shall be the duty of a member immediately upon learning of the death of a brother member, to communicate with the governing Officers and place before them such information as he may possess as to the fact of said death. The governing officers so informed will immediately assure themselves of the correctness of such report and draw the Fund, first ascertaining from the secretary, the amount subject to said call and repair with it to the beneficiary or beneficiaries designated by the deceased brother and pay said Fund or such portion of it as may in their discretion be considered expedient at that time, and take a receipt for the amount so paid.

9. The regular meetings of the Association shall be held quarterly on

the third Friday of January, April, July and October of each year, and the election of officers as hereinabove shall take place on the third Friday in January of each year, said meeting to be known as the Annual Meeting, at which time the Secretary and Treasurer shall report the amount of receipts, disbursements and general business of the year. Said meeting to number not less than ten (10) members of the Association and the majority vote of said number of members present shall constitute a quorum.

10. The President, or in his absence the Vice-President shall have the authority to direct the Secretary to call a general meeting of the members of the Association at any time or shall do so upon receiving written notice signed by at least five members in good standing.

11. These By-Laws may be altered or amended at the Annual Meeting or at any special meeting by a vote of two-thirds (2/3) of the members present, provided the proposed alterations or amendments shall have been offered in writing at least one (1) month previous to such meeting.

OFFICERS

WILLIAM C. ELKINS,
P. M. Hiram 4.....President

JE' HARRISON BROWN.....Vice-Pres.
L. DeWITT SPENCER,
P. M. Lewis Hayden 63.....Treas.

HENRY G. WALTON,
W. M. Hiram 4.....Sec'y

PRINCE HALL MASONIC TEMPLE
235-7 WEST 138th STREET
New York, N. Y.

Tel.: UNiversity 4-9184

Permanent Organization Effected
January 23, 1945

LOUIS FAIR, Jr. Grand Master

$ 1.50

11/17/43

10

Received from A. Philip Randolph (55)

One and 50/100 Dollars

100

Initial Payment - Voluntary Immediate Relief Fund.,

1st - Masonic District Assn - N.Y. - P.H.

No. 201

Henry G. Walton Treas

230 W. 150 St

my my

217 W. 125 St

my-27-my

Brown

April 10, 1944

Mr. James W. Garvey, E. R.
Monarch Lodge
I.B.P.O.E.W.
245 West 137th Street
New York City

Dear Brother Garvey:

Find enclosed application for reinstatement in the Monarch Lodge. Kindly let me know what the sum is and I will send a check for the amount. I will be back in the City, Thursday, Friday and Saturday, and will be in my office.

Fraternally yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR:RB
Enc.
af/oe
22076

Sam'l Delaney.

MES W. CAREY, Exalted Ruler RUSSELL P. WEST, Secretary ~~JOHN O. GARRETT~~, Treasurer

MONARCH LODGE No. 45
I. B. P. O. E. W.
245 West 137th St. Phone Audubon 3-8260
AUd. 3-2826 Secretay's Hours: 8 to 10 P. M. New York 30, N. Y.

April 14, 1944.

A. Phillip Randolph, Esq;
217 West 125 Street
New York City.

Dear Mr. Randolph

Please find enclosed the application blank, kindly fill out and see the doctor, and return to us for action,

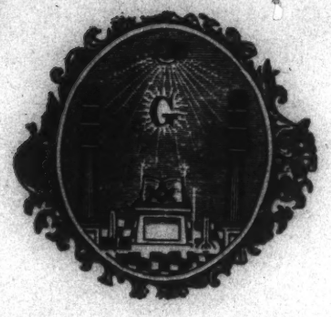
Yours

James W. Carey

James W. Carey, E. R.

Limwood Golden W. M.

APR Personal



John H. Gardeen, SEC'Y.
237 West 133rd. St.,
New York, 30, N.Y.

Joppa Lodge, No. 55, F. & A. M.

(PRINCE HALL)

NEW YORK, N. Y. March ~~February~~ 8th. 1944 194__

Mr. A. Philip Randolph,

217 West 125th. Street, City.

Dear sir & Brother:-

I am in receipt of yours of the 3rd. inst. enclosing Money Order amounting to Seven dollars ($7.00) in settlement of lodge's dues and Grand Lodge tax. I am herewith enclosing you your due card marked "paid in full."

With all kind wishes for your continual success in your wonderful work, I am,

Fraternally yours,

John H. Gardeen,

John H. Gardeen, Secretary.

M. W. GRAND MASTER
LOUIS FAIR, JR.
456-A McDONOUGH STREET
BROOKLYN, N. Y.

R. W. SENIOR GRAND WARDEN
LEO J. PAYNE
48 DE RUSSEY STREET
TEL. BINGHAMPTON 2-4327
BINGHAMPTON, N. Y.

R. W. GRAND TREASURER
ARTHUR S. SIMMONS
3755 BROADWAY
TEL. AUDUBON 3-4620
NEW YORK CITY

Most Worshipful Prince Hall Grand Lodge

of the

Most Ancient and Honorable Fraternity

of

Free and Accepted Masons

State of New York

R. W. DEPUTY GRAND MASTER
ARTHUR T. GIDDINGS
354 WARBURTON AVENUE
TEL. YONKERS 5362
YONKERS, N. Y.

R. W. JUNIOR GRAND WARDEN
CHARLES A. WILLIAMS
273 QUINCY STREET
BROOKLYN, N. Y.

R. W. GRAND SECRETARY
SIDONIA M. FRAY
237 WEST 120TH STREET
TEL. UNIVERSITY 4-9793
NEW YORK CITY 27

New York City, June 30th. 1944.

Mr. A. Philip Randolph,
#230 West 150th. Street,
New York City.

Honorable Sir & Brother:-

As you are no doubt aware of our organization is now engaged in the most important business of buying a new Masonic Temple. The successful acquisition of this Temple will enhance the prestige, honor and dignity of our fraternity and all the members thereof beyond all visible calculations.

The building in question was formerly known as the William McKinley Temple and is situated at 454 West 155th. Street, between St.Nicholas and Amsterdam Avebues, New York City. The cost of the building to us, (completely furnished and equipped) is $65,000, payable as follows; $20,000 cash and a ten (10) year mortgage of $45,000. We have the right to buy the same on an All Cash basis for $55,000, thus effecting a saving to the craft of $10,000, provided this amount is raised not later than August 12th. 1944.

To you, as one of our members who has achieved a position, through merit, of honor and distinction throughout the Country, and of whom we are justly proud of, I am appealing for a donation of One hundred ($100.) dollars.

Of course, it is understood, that if your circumstances does not permit you to comply with this request, then may we look forward to receiving a contribution from you commensurate with your past loyalty to our fraternity?

With kind personal regards, I am,

Fraternally yours,

Louis Fair, Jr.

Grand Master.

Linwood Colden W.M.

~~1384 Pacific St., Bklyn, N.Y.~~

John H. Gardeen SEC'Y

237 W. 133d Street
New York, 30, N. Y.

Joppa Lodge, No. 55, F. & A. M.

(PRINCE HALL)

NEW YORK, N. Y. July 15th, 194

Dear Sir and Brother:

Our next regular communication will be held on Saturday evening, July 22nd, 1944, at the Masonic Temple, 235 W. 120th St., New York City, at which time the Entered Apprentice Degree will be conferred on the waiting candidates.

We have been assured that we will be holding our meetings in the new Temple, 545 W. 155th St., during the month of September, therefore, it is our desire that all members of this Lodge endeavor to settle their indebtedness in full up to and including August, 1944, in order that we can start anew in that grand edifice.

There have been no change in the Lodge's dues and Grand Lodge Tax. However, there is an additional ASSESSMENT of One ($1.00) dollaw per month added by the Grand Lodge at its last Grand Session. This Assessment takes in all members of the Craft of the First Masonic District, and same is payable commencing with June, 1944. Therefore, take due notice and govern yourself accordingly.

The Grand Master is still waiting on your donation or loan of Fifty ($50.00) Dollars. Joppa Lodge, No. 55, now stands THIRD on the list of donations towards the purchase of the new Temple. Let us endeavor to make our Lodge Number One. We can, ~~what say you?~~ To this end, see the Master or the Secretary, or if you prefer, make your donations to the Grand Master direct. He will be pleased to see each and every member of the Craft in his office every evening, at the Temple, 235 West 120th Street.

What say you about changing our Meeting Night from the fourth Saturday to the third Friday night of each month when we reach the new Temple on 155th St.? Kindly give this matter some thought.

Fraternally,

Linwood Colden, Master

Attest:
John H. Gardeen, Secretary,
237 W. 133rd St., New York 30, N.Y.

August 13, 1964

Mr. Louis Fair, Jr.
Grand Master
Most Worshipful Prince Hall Grand Lodge
456 A Nostrand Street
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Honorable Sir and Brother:

In compliance with the request of the Order and in harmony with my interest and devotion to the principals and traditions of the honorable fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons and because I think that the Temple we wish to acquire will enhance the prestige, honor and dignity of our fraternity I am glad to send herewith for this worthy cause my check of $100.

Fraternally yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APRahn
Enc.

cf:oe
AFL-CIO

M. W. GRAND MASTER
LOUIS FAIR, JR.
456-A McDONOUGH STREET
BROOKLYN, N. Y.

R. W. SENIOR GRAND WARDEN
LEO J. PAYNE
48 De RUSSEY STREET
TEL. BINGHAMPTON 2-4327
BINGHAMPTON, N. Y.

R. W. GRAND TREASURER
ARTHUR S. SIMMONS
3755 BROADWAY
TEL. AUDUBON 3-4620
NEW YORK CITY

Most Worshipful Prince Hall Grand Lodge

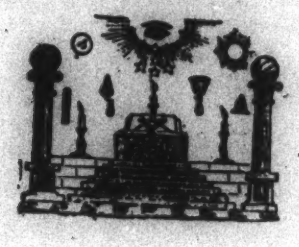
of the

Most Ancient and Honorable Fraternity

of

Free and Accepted Masons

State of New York



R. W. DEPUTY GRAND MASTER
ARTHUR T. GIDDINGS
354 WARBURTON AVENUE
TEL. YONKERS 5362
YONKERS, N. Y.

R. W. JUNIOR GRAND WARDEN
CHARLES A. WILLIAMS
273 QUINCY STREET
BROOKLYN, N. Y.

R. W. GRAND SECRETARY
SIDONIA M. FRAY
237 WEST 120TH STREET
TEL. UNIVERSITY 4-9793
NEW YORK CITY 27

APR-Personal

August 17, 1944

Mr. A. Philip Randolph, International President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th St.
New York 27, N. Y.

Dear Brother Randolph:

I wish to acknowledge, with grateful and personal appreciation, your very generous contribution of $100 toward the purchase of our new Masonic Temple. I also appreciate the sentiments expressed in your letter, and I am more than sure that when you see and visit this beautiful edifice, you will feel proud of the part you have played in making it possible for us to acquire so magnificient a Temple.

I shall shortly notify you as to the date set for the re-dedication.

Fraternally and sincerely yours,

Louis Fair Jr.
Grand Master

LF:MH

March 5, 1956

Mr. John H. Gardner, Secretary
Joppa Lodge, No. 18, F. & A. M.
237 West 135 Street
New York, 30, N. Y.

Dear Sir and Brother:

Enclosed please find check for $7 including $6 for lodge dues and $1 for Grand Lodge tax for myself. At the first opportunity I hope to attend a session of the lodge.

Fraternally yours,

A. Philip Randolph
Int'l Pres.

APRabe
Enc.

APRabe
2/27/56

Linwood Golden W. M.

John H. Gardeen SEC'Y.

Joppa Lodge, No. 55, F. & A. M.

(PRINCE HALL)

NEW YORK, N. Y. Jany 29th 1944

Mr A Philip Randolph.
217 West 125 St, City.

Dear Sir and Bro:

Both of your letters received and I wish to thank you for your $1.00 donation to our affair on Dec 18/43.

In answer to yours of the 26th inst, will state that the years dues are as follows:

Lodges dues	6.00
Grand Lodge tax	1.00
Total	$7.00

Very sorry you have not had time to attend your lodge. We are very anxious to have you do so at your earliest convenience. We know you are a very busy person, yet we feel that a little attention should be give to the fraternity. Nevertheless we are proud to have you again connected with our Lodge and Honorable body.

Fraternally
John H Gardeen.
Secty

APR Personal

(19)

The MILWAUKEE ROAD

HENRY A. SCANDRETT, WALTER J. CUMMINGS, GEORGE I. HAIGHT, TRUSTEES

Passenger Traffic Department
516 W. Jackson Boulevard
Tel. Central 7600
Chicago 6,

F. N. HICKS, PASSENGER TRAFFIC MANAGER
W. J. CANNON, ASSISTANT PASSENGER TRAFFIC MANAGER
H. SENGSTACKEN, GENERAL PASSENGER AGENT
JOS. CALDWELL, FIRST ASSISTANT GENERAL PASSENGER AGENT

October 12, 1944

GPD Claim - A. Philip Randolph

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
International President
217 W. 125th St. Rm-301
New York 27, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

Referring to your claim for refund on unused portion of ticket(s)
Form P.P.S.T. 2 No. 2207 sold Chicago, Ill.
on May 5, 1944 reading to San Francisco, Calif.

In making adjustments on unused portions of tickets carriers are required to charge regular tariff fares for portions used, and as the charge for service performed exceeds the amount paid, there is no refund available.

Regretting my inability to advise you more favorably, and thanking you for your patronage which is very much appreciated, I remain

Yours very truly,

Jos. Caldwell

General Passenger Agent

July 9, 1968

Life Membership Department
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
1790 Broadway
New York, New York 10019

Gentlemen:

Find enclosed check in the amount of one hundred dollars to be applied to the life membership in memorian for Mrs. Lucille E. Randolph.

Very truly yours,

A. Philip Randolph

4th Payment of $100
($400)

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

SEVENTEEN NINETY BROADWAY • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10019 • 212-245-2100

January 2, 1969

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

Dear Mr. Randolph:

This will acknowledge with our deepest appreciation the final payment of $100.00 to be applied toward an "In Memoriam" Life Membership for Mrs. Lucille E. Randolph. We shall be pleased to add her name to the roster of distinguished individuals and organizations who comprise the Honor Guard of the Association.

As the donor of this "In Memoriam" Life Membership, you are entitled to receive a continuing subscription to the Crisis magazine and other material from time to time pertinent to the work of our organization. An "In Memoriam" Life Membership wall plaque with Mrs. Randolph's name inscribed thereon will be engrossed and forwarded to you.

The Life Members of the NAACP will be remembered in the history of our great struggle as their names are inscribed with other freedom fighters on the imperishable bronze wall tablet which is mounted in the lobby of our National Office and serves as an eternal symbol.

Once again thanking you for your interest in and support of the Association's Life Membership program, I am

Sincerely yours,

Roy Wilkins

ROY WILKINS
Executive Director

RW/cn

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Official Organ: The Crisis

#16548

Date 12/20/68

1790 BROADWAY
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10019

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People acknowledges with appreciation receipt of $ 100.00 *for* Life Membership Payment In Memoriam
Re: Mrs. Lucille E. Randolph

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
%A.Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Ave., Sol
New York, N.Y. 10010

Alfred Baker Lewis
Treasurer

25

January 29, 1971

Mr. John J. Spivey, Secretary
Joppa Lodge No. 55, F.& A.M.
4348 Barnes Avenue
Bronx, New York 10466

Dear Sir and Brother:

Find enclosed check in the amount of $20.00 - dues for the year 1971.

Fraternally yours,

A. Philip Randolph

Enclosure

Officers and Committees for the Year 1971

Sylvester Holmes ..... *Worshipful Master*
Richard B. Lowe, Sr. ..... *Senior Warden*
John Montgomery, Sr. ..... *Junior Warden*
Raymond E. Brown ..... *Treasurer*
John J. Spivey ..... *Secretary*
Carl H. Scott ..... *Recorder*
Razz Edmondson ..... *Chaplain*
James Foster ..... *Chaplain*
Henry Hardy ..... *Marshal*
Lester Denmark ..... *Senior Deacon*
Charles Robinson, Sr. ..... *Junior Deacon*
James B. Holmes ..... *Senior Master of Ceremonies*
William Parker ..... *Junior Master of Ceremonies*
Douglas Huggins ..... *Senior Steward*
Solomon Dow ..... *Junior Steward*
Gerald Charms ..... *Organist*
Fred Grooms ..... *Organist*
Daniel McIntosh ..... *Tiler*

P.M. Joseph Ogburn ..... *Trustee, 3 Years*
P.M. Robert Beasley ..... *Trustee, 2 Years*
P.M. Samuel Washington, Jr. ..... *Trustee, 1 Year*

Investigating Committee

S.W. Richard B. Lowe, Sr. — *J.W.* John Montgomery, Sr.
S.D. Lester Denmark — *J.D.* Charles Robinson, Sr.

Sick Committee

S.W. Richard B. Lowe, Sr. — *J.W.* John Montgomery, Sr.
S.D. Lester Denmark — *J.D.* Charles Robinson, Sr.
S.M.C. James B. Holmes

Widows and Orphans Committee

Bros. Roger Powell; John A. Jones; Charles Britton
James Foster; Oscar Flow; George Fleeton; Henry Hardy.

Funeral Committee

Past Masters; Wilmot F. Bythewood, Oscar F. Benbow, Garfield Brathwaite, Walter J. Grange, Robert Beasley, Norman R. Berkeley, Samuel Washington, Jr., John J. Spivey, and Joseph Ogburn.

Divine Service and Family Day

P.M. Raymond E. Brown, *Brothers:* Johnnie Coot, Joseph Wiggins, Harold E. Long, Sr. Douglas Huggins, *J.W.* John Montgomery, Sr., and, P.M. Cleophas A. Reid.

Deans—Study Class

James R. Donovan, Sr., Robert Beasley, Samuel Washington, Jr. Norman R. Berkeley, Emory M. Smith, Solomon Dow, (*candidates*)
John Jackson, *President*, Rough Ashlar Club No. 2.

Past Masters

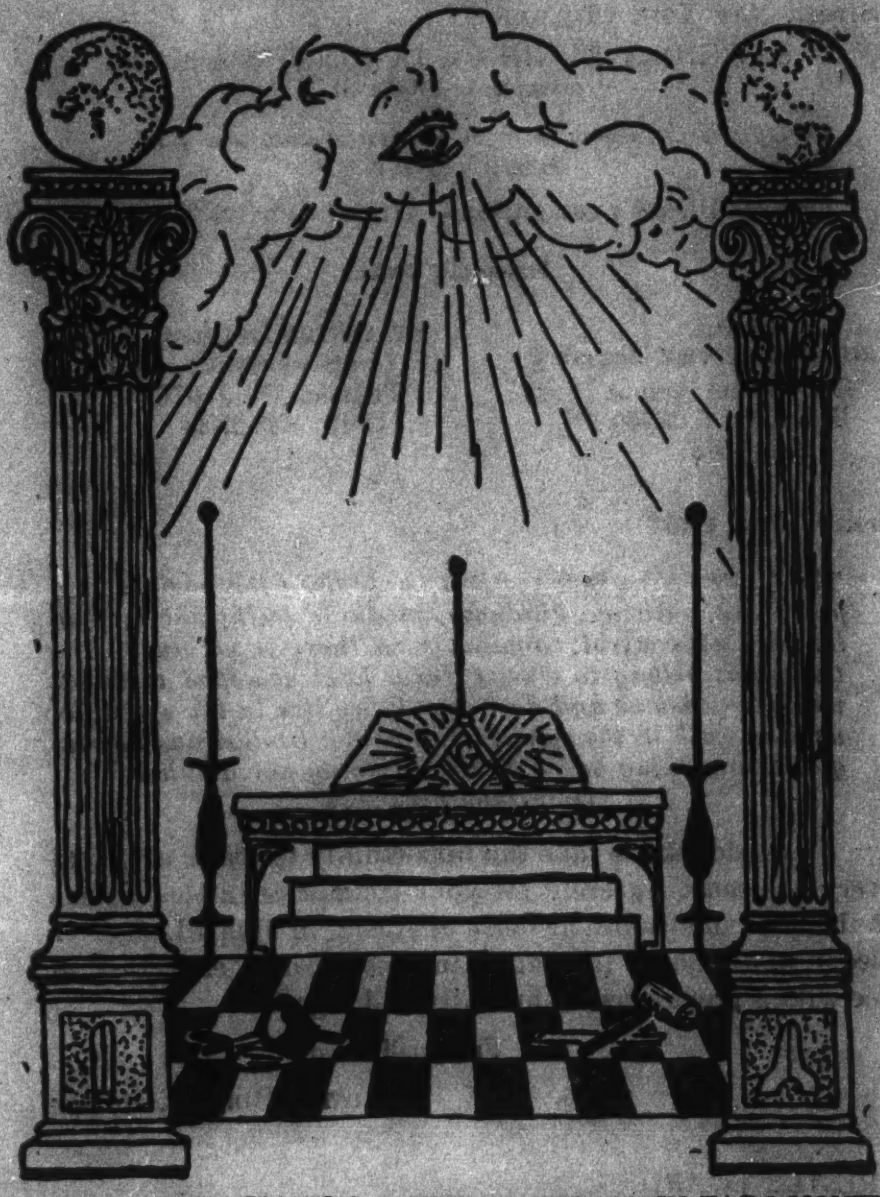
Rodney L. Curtis '30
George L. Jones '42
Linwood Colden '43
Alton L. Haywood, Sr. '44 '45
Wilmot F. Bythewood '46 '48
William H. Clayton '52
Raymond E. Brown '53
Buster Gaskin '55
Walter J. Grange '56
Oscar F. Benbow '57
Wendell O. Toclin '58
James R. Donovan, Sr. '59
John J. Spivey '60
William H. Woodward '61
* Henry Williams '61
Garfield Brathwaite '62
Cleophas A. Reid '63
Norman R. Berkeley '64
Robert N. Bakes '65
Emory M. Smith '66
William J. Richardson '67
Samuel Washington, Jr. '68
Robert Beasley '69
Joseph Ogburn '70

* '67

Joppa Lodge No. 55, F. & A. M.

PRINCE HALL, STATE OF NEW YORK

Instituted May 29th, 1920



STATED COMMUNICATION FOURTH SATURDAY IN EACH MONTH
at 8:00 o'clock sharp

MOST WORSHIPFUL PRINCE HALL GRAND LODGE
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10032
454 WEST 155th STREET

Joppa Lodge No. 55, F. & A. M. (Prince Hall)

Dear Sir and Brother

The next Regular Communication of this Lodge will be held at the Prince Hall Masonic Temple, 454 West 155th Street, New York City, on

SATURDAY EVENING, JANUARY 23rd, 1971
promptly at 8:00 P.M.

All Officers are requested to be in their stations and places promptly at 7:45 P.M.

Dress: Please wear Masonic Attire; Officers Tuxedos

Fraternally yours,

Attest:
JOHN J. SPIVEY, Secretary
4348 Barnes Avenue
Bronx, N. Y. 10466
994-4543

SYLVESTER HOLMES, *W.M.*
156 Stuyvesant Road
Teaneck, N. J. 07666
(201) 833-2828

FROM THE EAST

The fruits of the Spirit: *"But the fruit of the spirit is love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, gentleness, self-control; against such there is no law. Any they that belong to Christ Jesus have crucified the flesh with its passions and desires. If we live in the spirit, let us also walk in the spirit. Let us not be desirous of vain glory, provoking one another, enjoying one another."*
(Galatians 5:22-26.)

I would like to take this opportunity to thank each and every one most sincerely for your confidence in electing me to the high and honorable office of Master of Joppa Lodge. I pledge to discharge the duties and responsibilities of this office with a great sense of humility and dignity.

Fraternally yours,

SYLVESTER HOLMES, *Master*

TRESTLE BOARD:

The Regular Business of the Lodge conducted.
Committees' Report; The Master's Program for the year 1971; Rough Ashlar Club's program for the year 1971; the Auditing Committee's report; and, Reading of the Charter, by P.M. Wendell O. Tomlin.

JOPPA LODGE No. 55. F. & A. M.

IN MEMORIAM It is with profound SORROW that we announce the death of Bro. ADOLPHUS C. FORESTER who departed life on December 19, 1970. Masonic service was held by Joppa Lodge (Bro. Lester Denmark, *S.D.*) at the family church, Norwalk, Conn. 18 Brothers made the trip; two (2) from No. 66.

MY BROTHERS: Your attention is directed to ARTICLE VIII, Section 2; of your By-Laws; please read same and be governed accordingly. Your name must be discontinued by law if you neglect to comply with the LAW. Make all checks or money orders payable to JOPPA LODGE No. 55, F. & A.M.

SICKNESS AND DISTRESS

Bro. John C. Oliver, 418 West 128th St., Apt. 51, New York
Bro. Earl E. Turner, 1224 East 224th St., Bronx, (*weekends*)
P.M. Alton L. Haywood, Sr., 847 East 218th Street, Bronx,

ANNOUNCEMENTS

FIRST DEGREE, Saturday, February 27th, 1971; by Junior Warden and his team.

JOPPA'S STUDY CLASS meets every Wednesday night at 8:00 P.M. Every member is invited to come out and learn more about Masonry.

Rough Ashlar Club No. 2 meets the 1st Wednesday night; at 8:00 o'clock.

All Brothers are urged to join the Immediate Relief Fund. Make sure your Dues-Card is up to date and stop at Room 2; in the Temple.

V.I.R.F.: All Brothers are asked to join the Immediate Relief Fund. Be sure your Dues-Card is up-to-date. Protect your family today.

In the event of sickness, distress, or change of address, please notify the Worshipful Master or Secretary immediately.

MASONIC DUTIES: 1—Keep Financial: 2—Be Charitable: 3—Attend Your Meeting: 4—Be a Blood Donor: 5—Visit the Sick: 6—Join the V.I.R.F.

Fraternally yours,

JOHN J. SPIVEY
Secretary

SYLVESTER HOLMES
Worshipful Master

Roster

OF

Joppa Lodge No. 55

F. & A. M.

PRINCE HALL

NEW YORK CITY

1946

1946

Roster

of

Joppa Lodge

F. & A. M. (Prince Hall)

Instituted May 29th, 1920

Warranted October 22nd, 1921

Meets at

PRINCE HALL MASONIC TEMPLE

454 West 155th Street

Near St. Nicholas Avenue

New York 32, N. Y.

Fourth Saturday in Each Month

ALTON L. HAYWOOD Sr., *Wor. Master*

821 East 166th Street

New York 59, N. Y.

DAyton 3-3268

JOSEPH H. BURNS Jr., *Secretary*

503 West 133rd St., Apt. 18

New York 27, N. Y.

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Alton L. Haywood Sr., *Worshipful Master*
Wilmot A. Bythewood ..... *Senior Warden*
Larmon A. Willis ..... *Junior Warden*
Linwood Colden ..... *Treasurer*
Joseph H. Burns Jr. ..... *Secretary*

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William A. Meade ..... *Chaplain*
William I. Davenport ..... *Senior Deacon*
James E. Scott ..... *Junior Deacon*
Eugene Wright ..... *Senior M. of C.*
William R. Howard ..... *Junior M. of C.*
Hezekiah Williams ..... *Senior Steward*
Richard W. Rountree ..... *Junior Steward*
Phillip Eastman ..... *Marshall*
Edward N. Byas ..... *Reporter*
Walter B. Dickerson ..... *Tyler*

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Zelton L. Haywood ..... *1 Year*
Joseph H. Burns Sr. ..... *2 Years*
William R. Howard ..... *3 Years*

PAST MASTERS

LINWOOD COLDEN
RODNEY L. CURTIS
JOHN H. GARDEEN
ZELTON L. HAYWOOD
FRED D. HENDERSON
ALLEN HOOD
JAMES C. IFILL
GEORGE L. JONES
SYLVESTER M. JORDAN
JAMES G. MIZELL
D. LINCOLN REID

LIFE MEMBERS

WILLIAM F. DURHAM
JOHN H. GARDEEN
*ANDREW H. LORICK
WALTER B. DICKERSON

* Deceased

HONORARY MEMBERS

M.W. LOUIS FAIR Jr. (14)

R.W. Emil Toussant (38)

R.W. ALBERT JACKSON Sr. (37)

P.M. JOHN H. HOLMES (37)

P.M. ARTHUR THOMPSON (63)

P.M. JAMES McFARLIN (37)

P.M. C. FRANKLIN TAYLOR (1)

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P.M. JAMES A. RIVERS (37)

P.M. DANIEL DAVIS (37)

P.M. WILLIAM C. ELKINS (4)

P.M. EDWARD GUY (37)

GRAND LODGE OFFICERS

M.W.G.M. LOUIS FAIR, Jr. (14)
456a McDonough St., Bklyn, N. Y.
R.W.D.G.M. ARTHUR T. GIDDINGS (34)
R.W.S.G.W. LEO J. PAYNE (39)
R.W.J.G.W. L. ERNEST DUBOIS (36)
R.W.G. Treas. ARTHUR S. SIMMONS (1)
R.W.G. Sec'y. SIDONIA M. FRAY (66)

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R.W. EMERSON E. ISAACS (60)
1 Year
R.W. SIDNEY E. DAVIS (1)
2 Years
R.W. RALPH G. LIPPINS (69)
3 Years

DISTRICT DEPUTY GRAND MASTER
Borough of Manhattan, Bronx
R.W. JAMES McFARLIN (37)
876 Dawson Street, Bronx

COMMITTEES

SICK

Alton L. Haywood, Sr., W.M., Chairman
Wilmot A. Bythewood, S.W.
Larmon A. Willis, J.W.

INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE

Wilmot A. Bythewood, S.W., Chairman
Larmon A. Willis, J.W. Edward Baldwin

AUDITING

Wyndham M. S. Scott, Chairman
Arthur L. Roundtrea Sr.
Curtis A. Gleaton

CANDIDATES IN WAITING

Bailey, James
214 W. 146 St., NY 30, NY

Baker, Harold
Braddock, W. 120th St., NY 27, NY

Bass, Paul W. Sr.
472 W. 148 St., NY 31, N.Y.

Brown, James H. Jr.
1291 Washington Ave., Bronx, NY

Clark, William A.
555 Edgecombe Ave., NY 32, NY

Fontaine, Elliott
484 Convent Ave., NY 31, NY

Harris, Dr. Newton T.
701 St. Nicholas Ave., NY 31, NY

Harrison, Charles
2010 7 Ave., NY 26, NY

Henderson, Sidney
478 W. 158 St., NY 32, NY

Hibbitt, Sherman
112 W. 138 St., NY 30, NY

Hodge, John C.
1893 7 Ave., NY 26, NY

Izenhall, Aaron
49 St. Nicholas Terrace, NY

Logan, Milton
1833 Amsterdam Ave., NY 31, NY
Mitchell, Willis F.
335 Edgecombe Ave., No. 5C, NY 31
Pettiford, Oscar
280 E. 3rd St., Apt. 18, N.Y.C.
Garnett, Leonard R.
149 W. 142nd St., Apt. 5, NY 30
Vance, Richard
337 W. 138 St., NY 30, NY
Wilbone, Joe
145 Morningside Ave., NY 27, NY

MASONIC BULLETIN

PRINCE HALL MASONIC TEMPLE

454 West 155th St., New York 32, N. Y.

Boyer, No. 1	*1st Monday*
Mt. Olive, No. 2	*2nd Tuesday*
Celestial, No. 3	*1st Friday*
Hiram, No. 4	*4th Monday*
Adelphic Union, No. 14	*4th Tuesday*
St. Johns Lodge, No. 29	*2nd Monday*
Cornerstone, No. 37	*3rd Monday*
Prince Hall, No. 38	*4th Friday*
Joppa, No. 55	*4th Saturday*
Crispus Attucks, No. 60	*1st Tuesday*
Samson, No. 65	*1st Saturday*
Antioch, No. 66	*3rd Saturday*
Louis Hayden, No. 69	*3rd Friday*

Euclid, No. 70 ..... *1st Thursday*
Beacon Light, No. 76 ..... *2nd Thursday*

Craftsmen's School ..... *1st & 3rd Sunday* at 3 P.M.

Cornerstone Study Club ..... *1st, 2nd, 3rd Friday* 8 P.M.

ROYAL ARCH CHAPTERS

Widow's Son, No. 1 ..... *Second Wednesday*
Rising Sun, No. 4 ..... *Third Wednesday*
Eureka, No. 17 ..... *Second Friday*
Keystone School .....

KNIGHT TEMPLAR COMMANDERY'S

Mt. Calvalry, No. 1 ..... *Third Thursday*
St. John, No. 4 ..... *First Wednesday*
Ivanhoe, No. 5 ..... *First Thursday*
Ascension, No. 6 ..... *Fourth Thursday*

A. A. S. R. M.

King David Consistory No. 3
Fourth Wednesday

A. E. A. O., N. M. S.

Medina Temple, No. 19 *Second Tuesday*

MASONIC ROSTER

SECOND MASONIC DISTRICT

PRINCE HALL TEMPLE

1255 Bedford Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.

Widow's Son, No. 11 ____ ***3rd Wednesday***

Hiram, No. 23 ____ ***2nd Tuesday***

Carthagenian, No. 47 ____ ***1st Tuesday***

Tuscan, No. 58 ____ ***2nd Thursday***

African Four Fifty-nine, No. 63
1st Thursday

St. Cecile, No. 68 ____ ***3rd Thursday***

Mt. Pisgah Lodge No. 83 ____ ***3rd Friday***

ROYAL ARCH CHAPTERS

Mt. Moriah, No. 3_____*1st Friday*

K. T. COMMANDERY'S

Gethesame, No. 3_____*2nd Friday*

SUBURBAN LODGES

Xenia, No. 50_____*4th Monday*

24 Brook St., New Rochelle, N. Y.

Trinity, No. 51_____*1st & 3rd Wed.*

76 Bradford St., Flushing, L. I., N. Y.

Doric, No. 53_____ *2nd Thursday*

85 S. Franl ·· St., Hempstead, L. I., N. Y.

Lebanon, No. 54 _____ *1st Wednesday*

159-31 89th Ave., Jamaica, L. I., N. Y.

Silver Lake, No. 59 _____ *4th Friday*

73 Wave St., Stapleton, S. I., N. Y.

Bright Hope, No. 62 _____ *2nd Friday*

Bethel Baptist Church Hall, Winchester St.

White Plains, N. Y.

Progressive, No. 64 _____ *2nd Saturday*

160 S. 4th Ave., Mt. Vernon, N. Y.

David W. Parker, No. 72 _____ *2nd Friday*

Odd Fellow's Hall, Huntington, L. I., NY

MEMBERS

(A)

Abrams, Jefferson
1800 - 7th Ave., Apt. 8a (26)

(B)

Baldwin, Edward
50 Morningside Ave., (27)

Battle, Edgar W. 560 W. 149 St.

Bailey, James 214 W. 146 St., No. 17

Barefield, Edward
861 Macy Place, Bronx (55)

Bates, Miller
197 Monroe St., Bklyn (16)

Bolling, Earl Jr.
116-27 166 St., Jamaica, L. I., N. Y.

Bolling, Julian E.
116-27 166 St., Jamaica, L. I., N. Y.

Bowman, Lawson Jr.
555 Edgecombe Ave., (32)

Brown, Andrew J.
75 St. Nicholas Pl., No. 18, (31)

Bryant, William J.
172-13 107 Ave., Jamaica (5) L. I.

(B)

Bell, George
606 W. 147 St., (31)

Bell, Robert
606 W. 147 St., (31)

Brown, Egbert
105 Edgecombe Ave., No. 51

Brown, Harold A.
180 W. 135 St., (30)

Burns, Joseph H. Jr.
503 W. 133 St., No. 18, (27)

Burns, Joseph H. Sr.
63 Chauncey St., Bklyn (33)

Byas, Edward N.
302 W. 122 St., (27)

Bythewood, Wilmot A.
2420 - 7th Ave. No. 8, (30)

(C)

Carney, Harry
450 W. 147 St., No. 33, (31)
Campbell, Thomas J.
84 W. 113 St., No. 5, (26)
Carter, Nathaniel
325 Nostrand Ave., Bklyn (16)
Chaney, James H.
328 W. 53 St., (19)
Clarke, Carlton B.
163 W. 122 St., (27)
Clarke, Samuel T.
80 Edgecombe Ave., (30)
Clayton, George F.
1737 Van Burne St., Bronx (60)
Clowney, Ezra H.
300 Reid Ave., Bklyn (33)
Colden, Linwood
1384 Pacific St., Bklyn (16)
Cole, Frank C.
238 W. 127 St., (27)
Cook, Ralph G. L.
742 St. Nicholas Ave., (31)
Crawford, Carl H.
Armed Forces
Curtis, Rodney L.
408 W. 150 St., No. 65, (31)

(C)

Cole, Arthur
302 W. 122 St., (27)

Cook, Page E.
976 Tinton Ave., Bronx

Custis, Robert T.
771 St. Nicholas Ave., (31)

Clayton, William H. 456 W. 148 St.

(D)

Daniels, William S.
408 W. 130 St., 51a, (27)

Davenport, William I.
866 E. 224 St., Bronx (66)

Davis, Everett R.
262 W. 129 St., (27)

Day, James C.
320 Manhattan Ave., (26)

DeCordova, Leon A.
545 W. 150 St., (31)

Dickens, Lloyd E.
2153 - 7th Ave., (27)

Dickerson, Walber B.
342 Manhattan Ave., (26)
Dow, Solomon
536 W. 152 St., No. 33, (31)
Durham, William F.
50 E. 132 St., (35)

(E)

Ellison, Robert A.
1386 Prospect Ave., Bronx (59)
Eastman, Philip W.
1177 Stebbins Ave., Bronx (59)

(F)

Faide, Samuel M. 245 W. 129 St.
Freeman, Jack A. 940 St. Nicholas Ave.
Apt. 3-F
Foster, James R.
2103 Amsterdam Ave., No. 7, (32)
Ford, Herbert N.
305 Convent Ave., No. 65, (31)
Foulkes, George W.
400 W. 150 St., (31)
Freeland, Henri
1921 W. Dauphin St., Phila., Pa.

(G)

Gardeen, John H.
237 W. 133 St., No. 10, (30)

Gardner, George
New Paltz, N. Y.

Gleaton, Curtis A.
417 W. 156 St., (32)

Gregory, Roscoe T.
88 Stone Ave., Bklyn (33)

Groom, Freddie
143 W. 111 St., (26)

(H)

Hampton, James R.
53 St. Nicholas Ave., No. B4, (26)

Hardison, Samuel D.
343 Grand Ave., Bklyn (5)

Harper, Marcellus
259 W. 153 St., No. 53, (30)

Harris, Elevenstine
92 Morningside Ave., (27)

Highsmith, Jack L. 1835 Seventh Ave.
Apt. 2-N

Hughley, Fred A.
435 Grand Ave., No. 10, Bklyn (16)

Haywood, Alton L. Sr.
821 E. 166 St., Bronx (59)

Haywood, Zelton
834 E. 229 St., Bronx (66)

Henderson, Fred D.
536 W. 158 St., (32)

Henderson, Morton
Box 439, Fishkill, N. Y.

Henry, Charles
209 W. 139 St., (30)

Henry, James J.
149 W. 140 St., (30)

Hodges Samuel T.
67 Clifton Place, Bklyn (5)

Hood, Allen
100 W. 119 St., No. 5-B, (26)

Howard, Wm. James
350 Manhattan Ave., No. 5-B (26)

Howard, Wm. R.
300 W. 140 St., No. 5, (30)

(I)

Ifill, James C.
1230 Boston Road, Bronx (56)

Ingram, Sidney
143 W. 113 St., No. 23, (26)

(J)

Jackson, Arthur
576 E. 165 St., No. 2, N. Y. C.

Jackson, Simon S.
545 W. 150 St., (31)

Jones, Claude B.
555 Edgecombe Ave., No. 14H, NY 32

Jones, George L.
208 W. 151 St., No. 65-B, (30)

Jones, Junius
2071 Fifth Ave., No. 2, (35)

Jordan, Sylvester M. c/o Turner No. 65
1864 - 7th Ave., (26)

(K)

Kirby, John 83 St. Nicholas Ave.
Apt. 22

(L)

LaGree, Allen
2858 - 8th Ave., No. 8, (30)

Lee, John J.
196 Bradhurst Ave., (30)

Lindsay, Jerry
40-42 W. 127 St., No. 8, (27)

Lowe, Richard B. Jr.
3802 Paulding Ave., Bronx (67)

(M)

Mason, Thomas L.
413 W. 52 St., (19)

Meade, Wm. A.
4 W. 129 St., No. 10, (27)

Merritt, Wm. A.
137 W. 137 St., (30)

Miles, Cornelius
381 Edgecombe Ave., N. Y. C.

Mitchell, John W.
217 W. 130 St., (27)

Mizell, James G.
1800 - 7th Ave., (26)

Mickens, Ernest T.
864 Stebbins Ave., Bronx (59)

(Mc)

McCarter, Harold G.
520 W. 158 St., No. 2-C, (32)

McGlorie, Herman
525 W. 149 St., (31)

McKinney, Rev. Carnes
1281 Thisolm St., Bronx

McLeod, Vernon N.
560 W. 151 St., No. 5-D, (31)

(N)

Nelson, Henry A.
127 W. 135 St., (30)

(P)

Pangburn, Charles A.
543 W. 159 St., No. 3, (32)

Paul, Edward
7-9 E. 116 St., No. 4, (29)

Payne, Briscoe W.
371 Convent Ave., No. 45, (31)

Payne, Henry W.
249 Lenox Ave., (27)

Peters, John R.
2284 - 7th Ave., (30)

Peters, Wm.
335 Edgecombe Ave., No. 1-F, (31)

Price, Julian
70 W. 128 St., (27)

Procope, Russell
870 St. Nicholas Ave., No. 4-B, (31)

(R)

Randolph, Asa Philip
230 W. 150 St., (30)

Reid, D. Lincoln
239 W. 130 St., (27)

Robinson, Eugene S.
450 W. 149 St., (31)

Robinson, Thomas Jr.
889 St. Nicholas Ave., (32)

Roundtree, Arthur L. Sr.
935 St. Nicholas Ave., (32)

Rountree, Richard W.
916 St. Nicholas Ave., (32)

Rutherford, Joseph A.
500 W. 140 St., No. F, (31)

Rutledge, Theodore
681 Hancock St., Bklyn.
(S)

Sutter, Ernest
Armed Forces

Sandifer, Jawn A.
225 W. 110 St., (26)

Scott, James E.
170 W. 123 St., (27)

Scott, U. S.
411 Manhattan Ave., (26)

Scott, Dr. Wyndham M.S.
484 Convent Ave., (31)

Scriber, Robert
110 W. 130 St., (27)

Simons, Charles E.
2449 - 7th Ave., No. H, (30)

Smith, Charles E. c/o King No. 1D
371 Edgecombe Ave., (31)

*Strobart, John J.
84 Smith St., Newburgh, N. Y.

(T)

Taylor, Charles
1531 Southern Blvd., Bronx

Thomas, Kenneth
535 Edgecombe Ave., City

Thomas, Walter P.
279 Genessee Ave., Englewood, N. J.

Tobin, William K.
143 W. 138 St., (30)

Turner, Charles M.
770 St. Nicholas Ave., No. 72, (31)

(W)

Warner, Richard E.
335 Edgecombe Ave., (31)

Winslow J. Kermit
258 W. 133 St., New York (30)

Walker, John E.
204 W. 118 St., (26)

Walker, John W.
168 W. 135 St., (30)

Wilbon, Thomas Edmond 301 W. 112 St.

Williams, Emmett 303 W. 122 St.
Apt. 63

Walls, Winston
514 W. 138 St., No. 7, (31)

Weems, George
889 St. Nicholas Ave., (32)

Wiggins, Joseph J.
601 E. 167 St., Bronx (56)

Williams, Hezekiah
155 W. 127 St., No. H, (27)

Williams, John W. Jr.
142 W. 117 St., No. 3-W, (26)

Willis, Larmon
92 Morningside Ave., (27)

Wright, Eugene
515 Edgecombe Ave., No. 43, (32)

(Y)

Young, Jerome B.
49 St. Nicholas Terrace No. 46a, (27)

Younger, John D. Jr.
194 W. 134 St., (30)

Demitting into:

Markham, Dewey "Pigmeat"
267 W. 130 St., No. 15, (30)

Mr. Joseph Thomas
463 W. 160 St., (32)

ROSTER OF GRAND LODGES
(Recognized in the Prince Hall Family)

ALABAMA (1870)
M.W. Grand Lodge A.F.&A.M. (P.H.A.)
M.W. Charles V. Hendley, Grand Master
R.W. W. M. Martin, Grand Secretary
Box 1704; Montgomery, Ala.

ARKANSAS (1872)
M.W. Prince Hall Grand Lodge, F.&A.M.
M.W. E. U. Reed, Grand Master
R.W. W. M. Williams, Grand Secretary
Route 1, Box 87; England, Arkansas

ARIZONA (1919)
M.W. Sovereign, G.L. F.&A.M., Inc. (P.H.A.)
M.W. Lloyd D. Dickey, Grand Master
R.W. W. B. Scott, Grand Secretary
1222 E. Monroe St; Phoenix, Ariz.

CALIFORNIA (1856)
M.W. Sovereign G.L. F.&A..M.
and Jurisdiction (P.H.A.)
M.W. George R. Vaughns, Grand Master
R.W. L. D. Dandridge, Grand Secretary
1972 Santa Anna Blvd.; Los Angeles, Calif.

COLORADO (1876)
M.W. Prince Hall G.L. F.&A.M. of Colorado
and Jurisdiction
M.W. James T. Sims, Grand Master
R.W. V. G. Snow, Grand Secretary
1008 Cypress; Pueblo, Colo.

CONNECTICUT (1873)
M.W. Grand Lodge, F.&A.M. (P.H.A.)
M.W. Fred N. Groves, Grand Master
R.W. W. S. Taylor, Grand Secretary
155 Scranton St.; New Haven, Conn.

DELAWARE (1849)
M.W. Prince Hall, G.L. F.&A.M.
M.W. G. O. Carrington, Grand Master
R.W. P. William Turner, Grand Secretary
805 N. Dupont St.; Wilmington, Del.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA (1848)
M.W. Prince Hall G.L. F.&A.M.
M.W. Simpson W. Wallace, Grand Master
R.W. Addison W. Chapman, Grand Secretary
225 Rhode Island Ave., N.W.; Washington, D. C.

FLORIDA (1870)
M.W. Union Grand Lodge, F.&A.M. Inc. (P.H.A.)
M.W. C. H. Henry, Grand Master
R.W. P. A. Mitchell, Grand Secretary
P.O. Box 341; Jacksonville, Fla.

GEORGIA (1870)
M.W. Prince Hall G.L. F.&A.M.

M.W. John Wesley Dobbs, Grand Master
R.W. Sol C. Johnson, Grand Secretary
Tribune Building; Savannah, Ga.

ILLINOIS (1867)
M.W. Prince Hall G.L. F.&A.M. and Jurisdiction
M.W. Asby B. Carter, Grand Master
R.W. J. H. White, Grand Secretary
6203 S. Vernon Ave.; Chicago, Illinois

INDIANA (1856)
M.W. Prince Hall G.L. F.&A.M.
M.W. Cornelius R. Richardson, Grand Master
R.W. Harry S. Hastie, Grand Secretary
418 Lincoln Ave.; Evansville, Ind.

IOWA (1887)
M.W. United G.L. A.F.&A.M. (P.H.A.)
M.W. Paul Goodloe, Grand Master

R.W. C. T. Culbertson, Grand Secretary
713 S. Capitol St.; Iowa City, Iowa

KANSAS (1875)

M.W. Prince Hall G.L. A.F.&A.M.
M.W. Dr. G. N. Soanes, Grand Master
R.W. Chester Gaskins, Grand Secretary
1520 N. 5th Street; Kansas City, Kansas

KENTUCKY (1867)

M.W. Grand Lodge, F.&A.M. Inc., (P.H.A.)
M.W. Charles H. Howe, Grand Master
R.W. W. H. Perry Jr., Grand Secretary
2230 W. Chestnut Street; Louisville, Ky.

LOUISIANA (1863)

M.W. Prince Hall G.L. F.&A.M.
M.W. John G. Lewis Jr., Grand Master
R.W. R. U. Clark, Grand Secretary
P.O. Box 727; Raynes, La.

MARYLAND (1845)
M.W. United G.L. A.F.&A.M. and Jurisdiction (P.H.A.)
M.W. Willard W. Allen, Grand Master
R.W. Alvan Stanley, Grand Secretary
2525 McCulloh Street; Baltimore, Md.

MASSACHUSETTS (1791)
M.W. Prince Hall G.L. F.&A.M. and Jurisdiction
M.W. Morris J. Hicks, Grand Master
R.W. Elmer J. Puello, Grand Secretary
1095 Tremont St. (Masonic Temple); Boston, Mass.

MICHIGAN (1865)
M.W. Prince Hall G.L. F.&A.M.
M.W. Elmer Wallace, Grand Master
R.W. Heywood Gantt, Grand Secretary
6709 Hartford Avenue; Detroit, Mich.

MINNESOTA (1894)
M.W. Grand Lodge F.&A.M. (P.H.A.)
M.W. L. E. Tarver, Grand Master
R.W. Benjamin F. Henderson, Grand Secretary
906 St. Anthony Avenue; St. Paul 4, Minn.

MISSISSIPPI (1875)
M.W. John L. Webb, G.M. (Deceased)
R.W. J. B. Greene, Grand Secretary
Gulfport, Miss.

MISSOURI (1865)
M.W. Prince Hall G.L. F.&A.M. and Jurisdiction
M.W. Dr. G. B. Key, Grand Master
R.W. Elmer Dotson, Grand Secretary
1811 E. 9th Street; Kansas City, Missouri

NEBRASKA (1919)
M.W. Grand Lodge, A.F.&A.M. and Jurisdiction

M.W. Clayton P. Lewis, Grand Master
R.W. Robert Harris, Grand Secretary
2537 Burdette Street; Omaha, Nebraska

NEW JERSEY (1848)
M.W. Stewart A. Mann, Grand Master
M.W. United G.L. F.&A.M. (P.H.A.)
R.W. Edward C. Jones, Grand Secretary
75 4th Avenue; Long Branch, N. J.

NEW MEXICO (1921)
M.W. Prince Hall G.L. F.&A.M.
M.W. M. C. Rhoten, Grand Master
R.W. V. E. Grand, Grand Secretary
Box 166; Carlsbad, New Mexico

NEW YORK (1845)
M.W. Prince Hall G.L. F.&A.M.
M.W. Louis Fair Jr., Grand Master

R.W. Sidonia M. Fray, Grand Secretary
454 W. 155th Street (Masonic Temple)
New York 32, N. Y.

NORTH CAROLINA (1866)
M.W. Prince Hall G.L. F.&A.M.
M.W. James E. Shepherd, Grand Master
R.W. Rev. C. W. Laurence, Grand Secretary
Box 1447; High Point, N. C.

OHIO (1849)
M.W. Prince Hall G.L. F.&A.M.
M.W. Clyde E. Muss, Grand Master
R.W. C. F. Casterman, Grand Secretary
9613 Thorn Avenue; Cleveland, Ohio

OKLAHOMA (1891)
M.W. St. John G.L. A.F.&A.M. (P.H.A.)
M.W. Amos T. Hall, Grand Master
R.W. E. T. Busby, Grand Secretary
Chandler, Okla.

ONTARIO (PROVINCE) (1855)

M.W. Prince Hall G.L. F.&A.M.
M.W. Allen Millben, Grand Master
R.W. Henry W. Walker, Grand Secretary
1277 Goyeau Street; Windsor, Ontario

PENNSYLVANIA (1815)

M.W. Prince Hall G.L. F.&A.M.
M.W. Joseph W. Givens, Grand Master
R.W. W. M. Newby, Grand Secretary
3808 N. 17th Street; Philadelphia, Pa.

RHODE ISLAND (1858)

M.W. G. H. Stockett, Grand Master
M.W. Prince Hall G.L. F.&A.M.
R.W. J. C. LeCount, Grand Secretary
42 Westminster Street; Providence, R. I.

SOUTH CAROLINA (1868)
M.W. Prince Hall G.L. F.&A.M.
M.W. J. S. Stanback, Grand Master
R.W. J. E. Dickson, Grand Secretary
P.O. Box 992; Columbia, S. C.

TENNESSEE (1870)
M.W. Prince Hall G.L. F.&A.M.
M.W. F. L. Brewster, Grand Master
R.W. C. F. Oglesby, Grand Secretary
200 S. 4th Street; Memphis, Tenn.

TEXAS (1875)
M.W. Grand Lodge, F.&A.M. and Jurisdiction (P.H.A.)
M.W. William Coleman, Grand Master
R.W. William M. McDonald, Grand Secretary
Box 1478; Fort Worth 1, Texas

VIRGINIA (1875)

M.W. Grand Lodge, A.F.&A.M. (P.H.A.)
M.W. A. J. Smith, Grand Master
R.W. C. V. Wilson, Grand Secretary
810 Fifth Street; Lynchburg, Va.

WASHINGTON (1903)

M.W. Prince Hall G.L. F.&A.M.
M.W. E. J. Brown, Grand Master
R.W. E. A. Campbell, Grand Secretary
1724 25th Avenue, Seattle, Washington

WEST VIRGINIA (1877)

M.W. Grand Lodge, A.F.&A.M. (P.H.A.)
M.W. James W. Hutton, Grand Master
R.W. Gregory W. Whiting, Grand Secretary
Bluefield Teachers College; Bluefield, West Va.

WISCONSIN (1905)

WISCONSIN (1925)
M.W. Prince Hall G.L. F.&A.M.
M.W. G. L. Glover, Grand Master
R.W. Leon F. Peterson, Grand Secretary
125 S. Park Avenue; Beloit, Wis.

THE UNITED SUPREME COUNCIL (1854)
A.A. Scottish Rite of Freemasonry
Northern Jurisdiction, U.S.A. Inc.
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109-43 135th St, Richmond Hills, N.Y.
Frederick H. Stewart
212 St. Nicholas Ave., N.Y. 27, N.Y.
John Shepherd
112-25 34th Ave., Corona, N.Y.
Joseph A. Short
139 W. 122 St., N.Y. 27, N.Y.
Allie Smith
522 W. 158th St., Apt. 43, N.Y. 31, N.Y.
Emory M. Smith
1304 Stebbins Ave., Bronx 59, N.Y.
John T. L. Smith
411 1/2 W. 156th St., N.Y. N.Y.
Oscar F. Smith
180 W. 152nd St., Apt. 2-B, N.Y. 39, N.Y.
Charles M. Snyden
324 Dawson St., Apt. 4-D, Bronx 59, N.Y.
Frank Speed
1855 7th Ave., N.Y. 26, N.Y.
Alfred J. Sparks
550 W. 20th St., N.Y. N.Y.
Johnnie J. Spivey (P.M.)
1337 Teller Ave., N.Y. 36, N.Y.
Fred Staton
35 Mt. Morris Pk. West. Apt. 1-B
New York 27, N.Y.
C. L. Strong, Jr.
550 W. 156th St., N.Y. 32, N.Y.
Richard P. Sutton
32 Yosemite Ave., White Plains N.Y.
Kenneth S. Sweeney
61 St. Francis St., Roosevelt, N.Y.

T

George T. Taylor
66 St. Nicholas Pl., Apt A-42, N.N., N.Y.

Curtis T. Thompson
143-50 Brinkerhoff Ave., Jamaica 35, N.Y.
Oliver E. Thompson
1411 Clinton Ave., Bronx 56, N.Y.
William I. Thrash
102-38 184th St., Hollis 23, N.Y.
William K. Tobin
143 W. 138th St., N.Y. 30, N.Y.
Wendell O. Tomlin (P.M.
456 W. 148th St., N.Y. 31, N.Y.
Charles M. Turner
770 St. Nicholas Ave., N.Y. 31, N.Y.
Earl E. Turner
1224 East 224th St., Bx. 66, N.Y.
Sheldon H. Turner
189 Lewiston Ave., St. Albans 12, N.Y.

V

John E. Vaughn
189 Berry St., Hackensack, N.Y.
Sabas Vivar
556 W. 159th St., Apt. 1-E, N.Y. 32, N.Y.

W

Charles H. Wallace
140 Bradhurst Ave., Apt. 2-F, N.Y. 39, N.Y.
James Walton
17-19 W. 108th St., Apt. 92, N.Y. 25, N.Y.
George T. Washington
14 Morningside Ave., N.Y. 26, N.Y.
James A. Washington
348 W. 118th St., Apt. 34, N.Y. 26, N.Y.
Samuel Washington, Jr.
24 Monument Walk, Brooklyn 5, N.Y.
Joseph A. Watson
120 Nostrand Ave., Brooklyn 5, N.Y.
George Weems
4 W. 105th St., Apt. 3-D, N.Y. 25, N.Y.
Neville P. West
112 W. 138th St., N.Y. 30, N.Y.
Fred A. Wheatley
222 Riverside Dr., N.Y. 26, N.Y.

James White 1082 Simpson Street
Basement Apt., Bronx 59, N.Y.
Joseph J. Wiggins
601 East 167th St., Bronx 56, N.Y.
Joe H. Wilbone
313 Monroe St., Brooklyn, N.Y.
David Williams
211 E. W. 151st St., N.Y. 39, N.Y.
Edward Williams
63 Claremont Ave., Jersey City, N.Y.
Herbert Williams
546 W. 146th St., N.Y. 31, N.Y.
Hezekiah Williams
165 W. 127th St., N.Y. 27, N.Y.
Lloyd D. Williams
625 Lenox Avenue, N.Y.30 N.Y.
Tommie Williams
110-07 172nd St., Jamaica 5, N.Y.
Wesley Williams
255 Liberty Ave., Englewood, N.Y.
Larmon Willis (P.M.)
92 Morningside Ave., N.Y. 27, N.Y.
Kermit Winslow
823 Lexington Ave., Brooklyn 21, N.Y.
Sam Woodbury
1035 Stebbins Ave., Bronx 59, N.Y.
Clarence W. Woodard
471 Clinton Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y.
William H. W. Woodward
111-07 144th St., So. Ozone Pk., N.Y.
Kenneth H. Woods
416 East 70th St., N.Y. 21, N.Y.
Eugene Wright
515 Edgecombe Ave., N.Y. 32, N.Y.
Thomas R. Wright
15 W. 139th St., N.Y. 27, N.Y.

Y

Jerome B. Young
250 W. 131st St., Apt. 6-H, N.Y. 37, N.Y.
Samuel Young
240 W. 149th St., N.Y. 39, N.Y.

Sandy Young 187-13 Ridgedale St.
Springfield Gardens, L.I., N.Y.

Z

George N. Zatrine
865 E. 167th St., Bronx, N.Y.

HONORARY MEMBERS

John H. Bantum — 65
159-64 Harlem River Dr., N.Y. 39, N.Y.
Foster M. Bobo — 60
53 St. Nicholas Ave., N.Y. 27, N.Y.
Wealthie Boyd — 3
10 E. 138th St., N.Y. 35, N.Y.
Joseph Capers — 37
31 Florence St., Englewood, N.Y.
C. C. Carter — 76
263 W. 123rd St., N.Y. 27, N.Y.
William B. Carter — 50
400 W. 128th St., N.Y, 27, N.Y.
Jarrett Charms — 66
363 Grand Avenue, Brooklyn 38, N.Y.
John P. Collins — 66
103 W. 141st St., Apt. 56, N.Y. 30, N.Y.
Lynwood U. Devonish — 38
755 E. 221st St., N.Y. 27, N.Y.
Louis Fair, Jr. — 14
456-A McDonough St., Brooklyn 33, N.Y.
Cecil Herbert —66
1080 Intervale Ave., Bronx, N.Y.
Chas. Greenidge — 3
536 W. 158th St., Apt. 5. N.Y., N.Y.
Willis Johnson — 14
2476 Eighth Ave., N.Y. 27,N.Y.
Joseph A. Jones
335 Edgecombe Ave., N.Y. 31. N.Y.

Leonard P. Little — 60
574 St. Nicholas Ave., N.Y. 30, N.Y.
James McFarlin — 37
876 Dawson Ave., Bronx 59, N.Y.
Oscar Newton — 3
216 Jefferson Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y.
Orcellous Rawls — 3
55 W. 129th St., N.Y. N.Y.
Frank Robinson — 3
2103 Amsterdam Ave., N.Y. 31, N.Y.
Dillard Stone — 70
218 W. 146th St., N.Y. 39, N.Y.
Charles F. Taylor
160 W. 136th St. N.Y. 30 N.Y.
Arthur C. Thompson — 3
642 Macon St., Brooklyn 33, N.Y.
Emil Toussant
203 W. 145th St., N.Y., N.Y.
P.M. Clarence Watson — 89
454 West 155th St., N.Y.C.
S. E. Whittington
400 Convent Ave., N. Y. 31. N. Y.
Anthony E. Williams — 76
112 W. 139th St., N.Y. 30. N.Y.
James R. Yarbough
210 Washington Ave., Mt. Vernon. N.Y.

LIFE MEMBERS

James H. Chaney
Rodney L. Curtis
James J. Henry
D. Lincoln Reid
U. S. Scott

Lodge	Meeting Dates
Boyer No. 1	First Monday
Mt. Olive No. 2	Second Tuesday
Celestial No. 3	First Friday
Hiram No. 4	Fourth Monday
Adelphic Union No. 14	Fourth Monday
St. Johns No. 29	Second Monday
Cornerstone No. 37	Third Monday
Prince Hall No. 38	Fourth Friday
Joppa No. 55	Fourth Saturday
Crispus Attucks No. 60	First Tuesday
Samson No. 65	First Wednesday
Antioch No. 66	Third Thursday
Lewis Hayden No. 69	Third Tuesday
Euclid No. 70	First Thursday
Beacon Light No. 76	Second Thursday
Abercorn No. 86	Fourth Thursday
Jephthah No. 89	Third Friday
Meridian	Second Saturday
Prince Hall Ashlar No. 94	1st & 3rd Tuesday
Fidelity No. 97	Third Tuesday
St. James No. 98	Third Tuesday

ROYAL ARCH CHAPTERS

Widows Son No. 1	Second Wednesday
Rising Sun No. 4	Third Wednesday
Eureka No. 17	Second Friday

COMMANDERIES — K.T.

Mt. Calvary No. 1	Third Thursday
St. John's No. 4	First Wednesday
Ivanhoe No. 5	First Thursday
Ascension No. 6	Third Monday

SHRINE

Medina Temple No. 19. A.E.A.O.N.M.S.
Second Tuesday

SCOTTISH RITE

King David Consistory No. 3
Fourth Wednesday

UNDERSTANDING GRIEF

This is our greatest concern. You will find that feeling here, because our staff is composed of understanding people; whose sincere wish is to help you.

GEORGE L. JONES, P.M.
Joppa 55
Mortician

455-47 LENOX AVENUE
New York 37, N.Y.

Phone : WA 6-6565

SAY IT WITH FLOWERS

CAROLINE FLOWER SHOP

2482 - 7th AVENUE

New York 30, N.Y.

BRO. SAM YOUNG, Prop.

Tel: AU 3-9743

OIL BURNERS

and REFRIGERATOR

SERVICING DAY OR NIGHT

2222 EIGHTH AVENUE

New York 26, N. Y.

A. A. SCHUSTER

WAdsworth 6-5906

EDDIE GREEN

Real Estate

PRIVATE DWELLINGS - MORTGAGES

414 CONVENT AVENE

NEW YORK 31, N. Y.

WA 6-4955

Most Worshipful Prince Hall Grand Lodge

Free and Accepted Masons

State of New York and Dependencies

JOPPA LODGE #55

THIS is to CERTIFY—

That Joppa whose Name and Number is inscribed herein is a duly constituted Lodge working under the jurisdiction of this Grand Lodge

Herman V. Bailey

Grand Master

Grand Secretary

JOPPA LODGE #55 Lodge No. ____

F. & A. M. (Place Seal) STATE OF NEW YORK

This is to CERTIFY that Philip Randolph

whose signature is witnessed in margin is in good standing in period designated hereon.

OTIS J. SPIVEY SYLVESTER HOLMES

[illegible] AVENUE 156 STUYVESANT ROAD

BRONX, N. Y. [illegible] [illegible], N. J. [illegible]

(Secretary) (Worshipful Master)

Ledger Page 68

1976	Rec'd	Paid			
Jan.					
Feb.					
Mar.					
Apr.					
May					
June					
July					
Aug.					
Sept.					
Oct.					
Nov.					
Dec.					
Tot.					

2/3/11

1971

Name

Grade

2/3/71

№ 53749

OFFICIAL RECEIPT

New York, N. Y. 2/27 1971

Ledger No. 66 Lodge No. 55 F. & A. M.

Name A Philip Randolph

Address

Received on Account of

Dues	10		Reinstatement		
G. L. Tax	6		Demit.		
Petition					
Charity					
Total	20		J J Spivey		Sec'y

M. W. Prince Hall Grand Lodge F. & A. M.
State of New York

To Whom These Presents Come

Greeting:

THIS CERTIFIES THAT JOPPA Lodge

No. 55 NEW YORK CITY

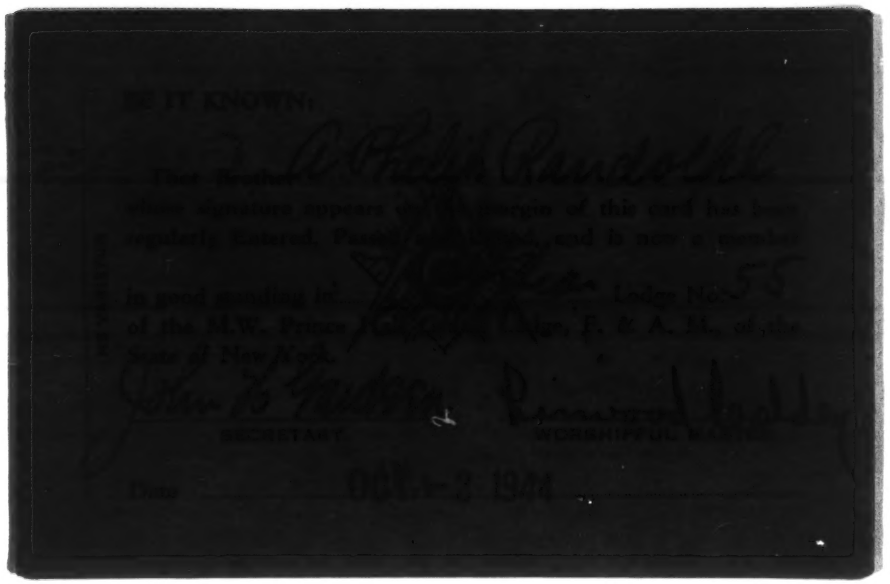
is a regular lodge of the and WARRANT

emanating from the Most Worshipful Grand Lodge of the Ancient and Honorable Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons, in the State of New York.

Henry A. Rhodes — R.W. GRAND SECRETARY

Louis Spitzer, Jr. — M.W. GRAND MASTER

Date 8 4 3 JUN 3 1948



BE IT KNOWN:

That Brother [illegible] whose signature appears on the margin of this card has been regularly Entered, Passed and Raised, and is now a member in good standing in Lodge No. 55 of the M.W. Prince Hall Grand Lodge, F. & A. M., of the State of New York.

[illegible] — SECRETARY

[illegible] — WORSHIPFUL MASTER

Date OCT. 2 1944

Most Worshipful Prince Hall Grand Lodge

Free and Accepted Masons

State of New York and Jurisdiction

JOPPA LODGE #55

This is to certify—

The Lodge whose Name and Number is impressed hereto is a duly constituted Lodge working under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge

Attest: Wm. B. Bass, Grand Secretary

Geo. Lampkins Jr., Grand Master

JOPPA LODGE #55 Lodge No.

F. & A. M. (Prince Hall) STATE OF NEW YORK

MASTER MASON

This is to certify that

whose signature is affixed to this, is in good standing and is a duly Entered, Passed and Raised Master Mason

JOHN J. SPIVEY

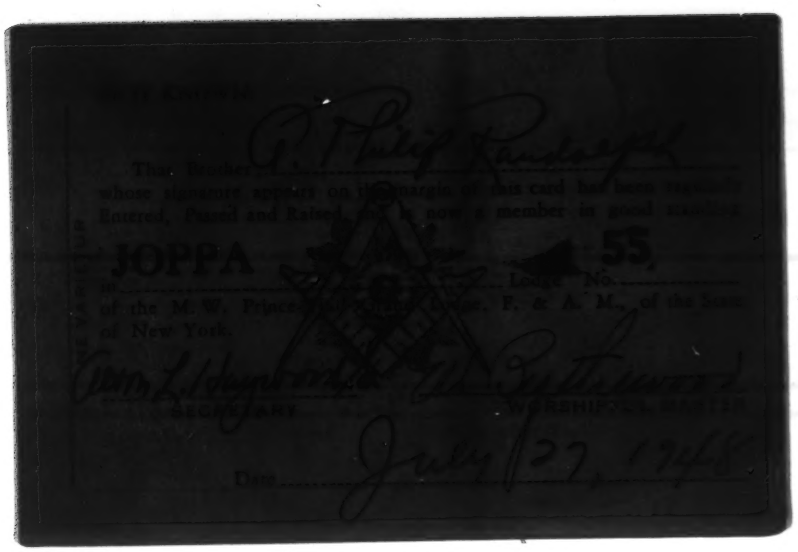
248 BARNES AVENUE

BRONX, N. Y. 10465

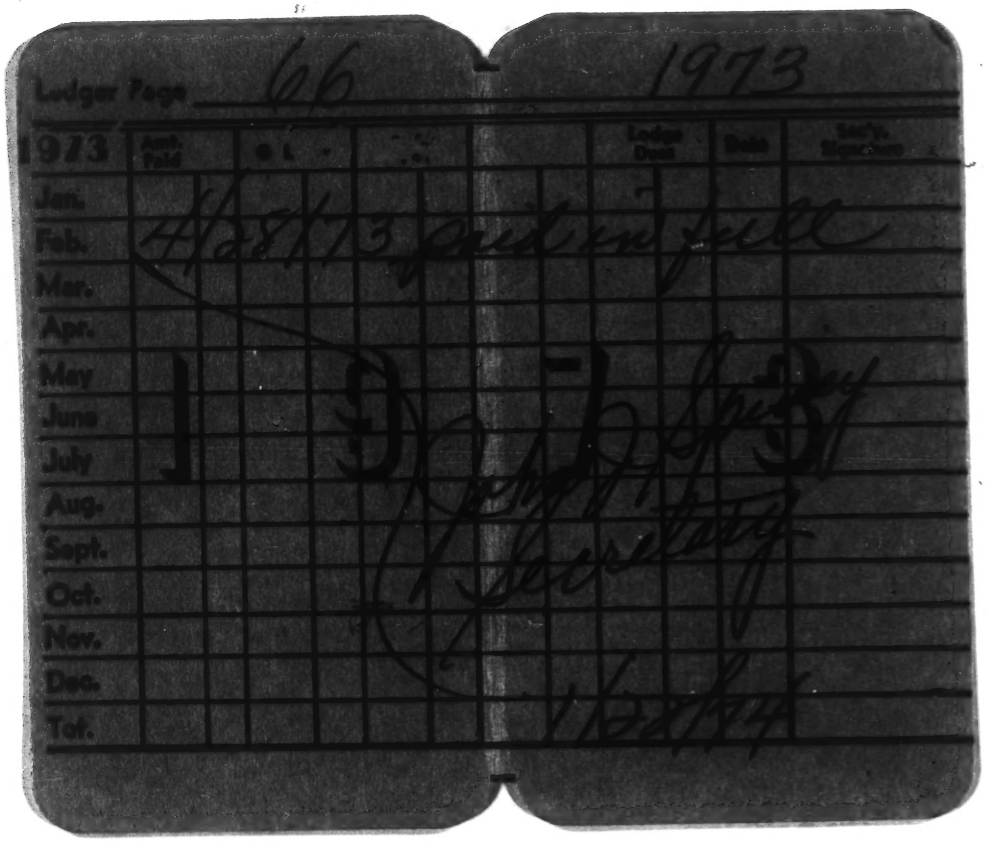
P. O. Address

Secretary

Worshipful Master


JOPPA
55
July 27, 1948

JOPPA LODGE
No. 55
NEW YORK CITY
JUN 4 - 1944


Ledger Page 66
1973
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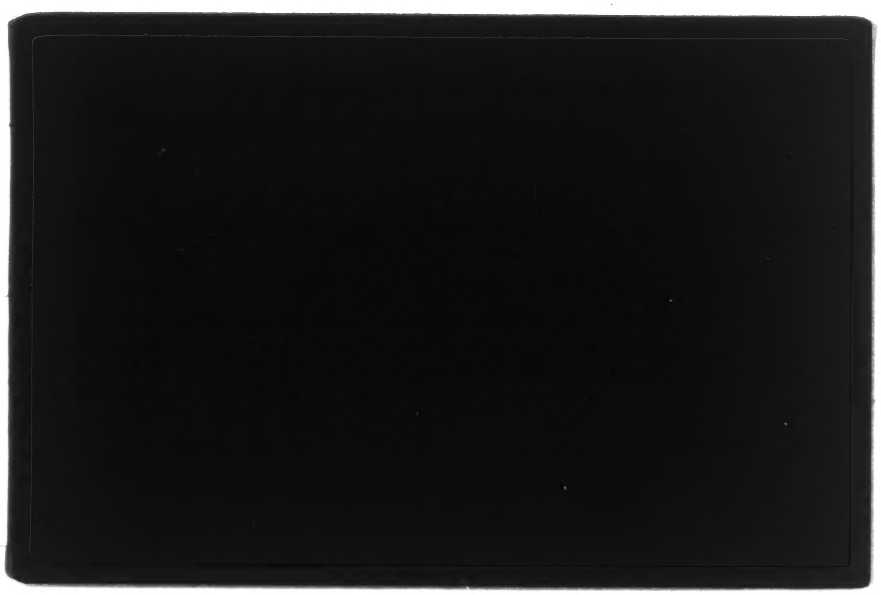

OFFICIAL MEMBERSHIP CARD

VALID UNTIL

Jan.	July
Feb.	Aug.
Mar.	Sept.
April	Oct.
May	Nov.
June	Dec.
1948	49

YMCA

SENATE AVENUE BRANCH

Indianapolis, Indiana

TYPE

Contributing

Student

Regular

Social

Mr. A. Phillip Randolph

having paid the annual fee of $ 10.00, is a member in good standing and entitled to all privileges of membership here.

Secretary

Negro Labor Assembly

HARLEM LABOR CENTER

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

PHONE _____

REPRESENTING _____

CONDITIONS

The holder of this card is registered as a member of the International Y. M. C. A. and is committed to the Christian purpose of the Association.

This card is not transferable and must be shown when receiving accommodations.

THE NEGRO LABOR ACCORDS

as the subjected body of labor affiliated with

THE NEGRO LABOR COMMITTEE

Our Aim

The organization of Negro workers into trade unions because this is the only way in which the Negro can take his rightful place in the labor movement and the trade union movement can take its rightful place in the Negro community.

WORKERS DEFENSE LEAGUE

National Non-partisan Agency for Defense of Labor's Rights

This certifies that A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

is a member of the Workers Defense League for the year

1941

Signed Dave McDonald

National Secretary-Treasurer

DEFEND LABOR'S RIGHTS

Report all violations of the democratic rights of labor to your local WDL branch and to National Headquarters

WORKERS DEFENSE LEAGUE

112 East 19th Street, New York

OFFICIAL MEMBERSHIP CARD

VALID UNTIL
Jan. July
Feb. Aug.
Mar. Sept.
April Oct.
May Nov.
June Dec.
1944-45

SENATE YMCA AVENUE

YOUNG
MEN'S CHRISTIAN
ASSOCIATION
Indianapolis, Indiana

TYPE
Contributing
Sustaining
Regular
Social

Mr. A. Phillip Randolph

having paid the annual fee of $ 2.00 is a member in good standing and entitled to all privileges of indicated type.

Executive Secretary

MEMBERSHIP CARD

NAME Mr. A. Phillip Randolph

ADDRESS 230 W. 150th St., N.Y.C.

UNIT New York

National Branch On Washington Movement

HOTEL THERESA BUILDING

2084 SEVENTH AVENUE

NEW YORK CITY

From Aug. 1, 1943 to July 31, 1944

The Canadian League
for the
Advancement of Coloured People
MONTREAL

Membership Year ~~1943-4~~
1944-5

Name Mr. A. Philip Randolph

Delmer S. Howard
Secretary

CONDITIONS

The holder of this card is registered as a member of the International Y. M. C. A. and is committed to Christian purpose of the Association.

This card is not transferable and must be shown when receiving accommodations.

PLEDGE

I support and endorse the fight of the United Nations to wipe out the Axis menace.

I endorse the policy of a mixed army and consider it a negation of democracy to segregate soldiers who are fighting the same foe for the same cause.

I will work for Negro representation at the Peace Conference to negotiate world-wide peace.

I support a non-violent but direct struggle by the Negro people to abolish segregation now and agree to "March" when authorized by the National Executive Committee.

I am not anti-white but I believe that Negroes should initiate the campaign to win their unconditional equality of status for themselves.

I will work for a Free Africa and a Free Caribbean.